THE NEW-CHURCH REVIEW

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VOL. XXXV, No. 4 OCTOBER, 1928

Application of Doctrine to Life
CLARENCE LATHBURY 385

Col. Robert Carter and the First American New-Church Liturgy HORACE B. BLACKMER 391

The Present Religious Crisis and After
JOHN R. SWANTON, Ph.D. 418

Swedenborg's Early Travels LEWIS F. HITE 426

The Mystery of the Trinity AUSTIN WARREN, Ph.D. 459

Pacific School of Religion Berkeley, Calif.

(For Editorial Department, see next page.)

MAY BE LOANED
After NOV 12

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

Editorials :

Clear Thinking, Interpretation, and Application LEWIS F. HITE 466
Making Trial of Religion WILLIAM F. WUNSCH - - - 474

Biblical and Doctrinal Studies :

At Jesus' Feet WILLIAM L. WORCESTER - - - - - 479
The Powerful Symbols of the Holy Supper EVERETT K. BRAY 484
A Digest of the Teaching on "Charity" (II)
WILLIAM F. WUNSCH - - - - - - - - - 487

Current Literature :

Swedenborg's "The Word of the Old Testament Explained"
JOHN WHITEHEAD - - - - - - - - - 495
Gropings of the Race-Mind ADOLPH ROEDER - - - - 500
E. Stanley Jones's "Christ at the Round Table"
EVERETT K. BRAY - - - - - - - - - 504
Henry Neumann's "Modern Youth and Marriage"
H. CLINTON HAY - - - - - - - - - 506
Bishop Charles Fiske's "The Confessions of a Puzzled Parson"
HORACE W. BRIGGS - - - - - - - - - 508
Herbert R. Purinton's "The Achievement of Israel"
FREDERIC R. CROWNFIELD - - - - - - - 510
William Albert Ericson's "Inspiration—History, Theories and Facts"
B. A. WHITTEMORE - - - - - - - - - 511

THE NEW-CHURCH REVIEW

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THE
NEW-CHURCH REVIEW

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APPLICATION OF DOCTRINE TO LIFE

BY THE REV. CLARENCE LATHBURY

IF we could fully realize that the doctrines of the New Church are intrinsic laws of spiritual life, ruling and reacting on the soul, as air, food and sun-light on the body, it would seem almost profitless to discuss the importance of their study; still more so the study of the Word of God from which they are drawn. It would seem much like emphasizing the importance of the laws of nature and their application to human welfare. Yet we can contemplate it profitably from the standpoint of a growing sentiment among our New-Church people that some things are more vital, or at least more pressing, than the reading of the Word and the study of the doctrines drawn from it.

Before the New-Churchman lie the teachings of his Church pictured by a master-hand: the actuality of God in Christ; His Divine Human nature, and the nature of man His child; God's relation to man and the universe; the problem of the present and the hereafter; the relation of religion to life; and the inner sense of the Word—teachings entirely relieved from the academic or abstract, throbbing with evident life. They not only stand upon their feet, but they mount up as on eagle's wings. They are not human concoctions, needing, like pillars, to be braced into position that they may sustain the structure of faith, but are rooted

like a tree planted by the rivers of water whose leaf shall not wither. He need make no violent appeal for their recognition, as men have to do with things of artifice. They salute the reason, and satisfy the thirst of the universal heart. Might he not therefore take it for granted, without discussion, that there is inestimable value in the study of the doctrines, and turn his strength into the channels of their uses?

Along with the realization of the need of a strong and tangible protest against the prevailing materialism of the times, he can see that with such materialism only doctrines of life can successfully grapple; that only such can minister satisfactorily to the human thirst for truth; that what the materialism of the day demands, is not startling theories attractively presented, scintillating aphorisms, finished rhetoric, but tenets of faith which fall into the category of irrefutable laws of life that touch life within and without, and minister to everlasting welfare. The matured New-Churchman will use his advantages not in laudation of a remarkable man, or an admirable system, or in onslaught on weaker systems of truth, but in living demonstration of the power of his truths to meet every human need, and satisfy every human prompting. The materialism of the time asks water from our spring and bread from our field, which we are abundantly equipped to supply.

If, then, our truths are a counterpart of the laws of nature, are to the soul what physical laws are to the body, how much more deserving are they of study than hygienics, or eugenics, or business! And it is a pertinent question: Will the New-Churchman press all his energies into a scrutiny of secular affairs, and neglect those rules which, if obeyed, will make him an angel? Will he faithfully study and apply the precepts of his body that he may become muscular, and neglect those rules which, if earnestly noted, would put his soul upon an impregnable basis?

There is today a growing impatience with technical doctrine. The study of theological formulæ has become a lost

practice with the average man. Truth systematically stated most people now turn from with unfeigned aversion. Even in religious instruction the hour demands the biograph, the importation into the church of methods that have captured the popular mind. And some who show this impatience with systematic doctrines mean well. They feel that religion has the superabounding personal element, and should not be clogged with prosaic formulæ; that it ought to show itself in lives rather than in academic by-play, ought not to yoke its vital beauty to mathematical or philosophical entanglements.

They forget that mechanism is the initial step to spontaneity; that the child takes its first walk with difficulty; that music starts in the dull domain of measure, pitch and scale; that behind the rhythm of the spheres is a definite working organism; and that out of roots and paradigms comes the glory of poetry and song. To decry doctrine, then, in the interest of religion, is like deprecating drill in the interests of melody, or anatomy in the interests of health, or the commandments in the interests of holiness. Doctrine, like everything else, begins with the statement of laws. Doctrine is the food of the spirit, created to turn—through the subtle chemistry of experience—truth into goodness, teaching into life, as the body is built to turn what it eats into strength and usefulness. And this is just what the New-Churchman should find himself doing with his doctrines.

Now let us turn to another page of the topic. Doctrine drawn from the Word of God furnishes a complete antidote to the secularism of the times, making an atmosphere so pure that secularism passes into worship. And it does this not so much by its technical clearness, its resolute outline, as by the light that fills it and shines forth from it.

The cup is, of course, not so important as what the cup holds. While accepting our system, therefore, we should not push it to the front. Exactness is good, but it is only a means to an end. I urge, of course, a deeper intellectual

study of the doctrines, more precision in their expression, a higher estimate of the Word; but more strenuously I urge a profounder sense of their importance to make alive. I call your attention to their eternal power to meet all times and temperaments, to suit the newest circumstance of this year with abounding grace and efficiency.

Study of the doctrines, and their application to life are two quite different things. The fact is that no teaching ever had any power in it that was not teaching of doctrine, truths of life drawn from the Word. No exhortation to a good life can seize and hold the conscience that does not have behind it some working truth as fathomless as eternity. People crave elemental truth couched in simple and clear language. Let us, therefore, read all the doctrine we can, teach all the doctrine we know, learn forever more and more; but read it always, and teach it always, not that men may merely admire it, wear it like a precious gem on the lapel of the mind, but that they may be saved by it, and save others by it. Let us make doctrine a plow that will effectually turn the fallow soil of human nature, leaving a tilth fit for the reception of the seed of the Word. Then our doctrine will stand upon its feet; God will speak to it and through it; and men will feed from the bread in our hands intrusted as by the Master to be given to those who are hungry.

The Word is full of doctrine, yet it surcharges doctrine through and through with human interest. It is the most human of books because written by the Divine-Human, "who knew what was in man," for He made man and was Himself man. It never tells men what to believe without at the same time providing a way for them to rear their belief into the structure of conduct. Belief is the architectural plan, conduct the finished building; and the plan, of course, precedes the structure in time, though not in importance.

What, then, should the matured New-Churchman have done with his doctrines, when he has rightly used them? He should hold them no longer in undigested form, as a

code of aphorisms of which he is justly proud. They should have become a part of himself, translated into flesh, mind and will. Woe to him, if this is not the case! Woe to him, if he is still a neophyte when it is high time for him to be a master! The young doctrinarian may innocently toy with his truths, for his hour of experience has not yet come; but the seasoned New-Churchman should long ago have seen his knowledge pass into the graces of usefulness.

The sword of Goliath in the hand of young David was an untried blade; later, taken down from behind the ephod in the sanctuary, it was a tested instrument in the grasp of victory. Like ripe and unripe fruit, both phases are timely in their place. Between Moses at the bush and Moses in Nebo stretches the wide valley of pain and experience. How soon a man is recognized whose faith has been saturated with his life, whose faith is in him as the warp in the fabric, as the nerves are in the body!

Not to teach doctrine, then, save as a means, not to elaborate and strengthen our church organism, save as a means, are principles that should be kept steadily in view. The Church too easily forgets her ends in the admiration and contemplation of her means. She must learn to discard doctrinal gymnastics as having no value. For a thousand years the churches of Christendom have been wasted and torn by them. We have a pregnant warning in the part of New England sectarianism. We need doctrine that is strong intellectually,—we can not have it too strong; doctrine that suits the most athletic mind, that will attract the most muscular analyst, but at the same time, doctrine saturated with the warm blood of affection, colored and made vital and beautiful by it. If we were forced to choose between the mental and the affectional, it must, of course, be the latter; but happily we need not come to that. Only let the primary convictions pass to the front and lead the way.

What will be the result when knowledge and life act in unison? With mind and heart and body reacting normally upon each other, every organ interplaying harmoniously

with every other, personality will take on the beauty, strength, and holiness of God. Every acceptance of new truth ought to justify itself by a deepening and extended usefulness. Confronting every doctrine stands Life putting questions to the soul. Can you make men brave instead of cowardly, kind instead of cruel, true instead of false? Is it not well that every precept of our Church is forced to run this gauntlet, to stand this acid test? Can it stand it? The world, the flesh, and the devil, are our keenest and most relentless judges. Many ardent opinions have withered before their gaze. The facts and exigencies of life also put these unescapable questions to our beliefs, confront every dearly held formula, interrogate every lucid plan: "Can you make men better men?" "Can you make men more like God?" No conceit of wisdom, no pride of superior faith, can evade this test. Every life's doctrine must answer at this bar. It will be impossible to leave the highroad where the judges sit, enter the field and make a circuit around them, reach the road higher up, and so pursue our way to heaven. It is the thief and the robber who attempts to climb up some other way. We must meet life frankly with our faith, look at her calmly, and so obtain that permutation of grace and truth which will enable us to look into the face of the Master. What the materialism of the day needs and asks for, is not new demonstrations of doctrines as abstract truths, not new arguments or arrangements of philosophy, but new demonstrations of their power to mould human life into the divine form. More study? Yes! And yet more application to life!

CLARENCE LATHBURY.

COL. ROBERT CARTER AND THE FIRST AMERICAN NEW-CHURCH LITURGY*

By Horace B. Blackmer

IT is expected that you may have seen the gentlemen to whom the inclosed letter is addressed, both of whom are ministers of the New Jerusalem Church.

Be pleased to inform me of the state of the New Church in the Town of Liverpool, and mention in your letter the name of such members as you may know.

I do not know personally either Mr. Mather or Mr. Salmon; therefore I now beg the favor of you to deliver the inclosed letter to one of them, or to a member of their society, and inform the person that I dissented from the Church of England in the year 1778, and was then received in the Baptist Church; that about 2 years ago some of the Writings of Baron Emanuel Swedenborg were put into my hands, wherein I apprehend we are instructed in the True Christian Religion.

Thus, on the third of October, 1792, Col. Robert Carter, of Nomony Hall, Westmoreland County, Virginia, addressed Capt. John Huston, master of the Ship Molley then "at Hobb's Hole bound for Liverpool." Col. Carter had been in touch with the New Church in England chiefly by correspondence with Robert Hindmarsh, and had appar-

*Note:—The Carter Letters which make up the larger part of the present article came to the attention of the New Church some forty years ago. A grandson of Rev. John Hargrove, Mr. Otis Hinkley, brother of Rev. Willard H. Hinkley, spent some of his summer vacations at Nomony Hall, Westmoreland County, Virginia. He had opportunity to peruse the letters of Col. Robert Carter, which were contained in roughly formed books of sheets of paper stitched together. He obtained permission to remove from these books such letters as were of interest to the Church; and he gave them into the keeping of the Baltimore Society. In 1917 it was felt that a copy of such valuable documents should be in the possession of the New-Church Theological School, and Rev. John Whitehead,

ently received the impression that the English New Church was in a far more flourishing condition than was actually the case. He supposed it capable of helping substantially the building of a New-Church temple in America; he confidently expected that it could produce a clergyman who could be sent to America to establish the Church here. During the summer of 1792, he felt that the ignorance existing in America regarding the Church could best be overcome by the establishment of a school, presided over by a New-Churchman. It was to secure a teacher for such a school, who could not only teach general subjects and the doctrines of Swedenborg, but also if necessary conduct services, that he wrote on the first of September to Robert Hindmarsh in London, and jointly to Mr. Ralph Mather and Mr. Joseph Salmon in Liverpool. These letters he entrusted to the care of a person traveling to Alexandria, Va., with instructions to place them in the hands of the master of some ship bound for England. Some time after the despatch of these letters he learned of the vessel bound directly to Liverpool which had put in near by his home. The opportunity of direct delivery of his letter to his correspondent, as well as the possibility of receiving first-hand information regarding New-Church brethren, caused Col. Carter to make a copy of his original letter, and inclose it with the note quoted above.

Col. Robert Carter—or "Councillor" Carter as he is sometimes called, because he was, before the American Revolution, one of the Council of the Royal Governor of Virginia—was one of the early "receivers" of the Writings in America. On account of a phraseology resembling passages in the "True Christian Religion" in his account of his baptism by two Baptist ministers in 1778, some consider that he had knowledge of the Writings of Swedenborg as

then Librarian of the School, secured the loan of the letters for the purpose of having photostat copies made of them. Before arrangements were fully completed, the entrance of the United States into the World War interrupted the undertaking, and it was not until after the close of the war that the work was accomplished.

early as 1777, seven years previous to the first public pronouncement of the doctrines in America by James Glenn in Philadelphia. The above-quoted letter seems to indicate clearly, however, that Col. Carter's knowledge of the Writings had not extended over a period of more than two years.

Col. Carter has been described as "a gentleman of considerable wealth, rare learning, and not a little eccentricity of character" who "expended considerable sums of money in publishing and circulating the Writings of Swedenborg, and tracts explanatory of the doctrines." * He is reputed to have been "among the richest men in the State of Virginia, owning some 700 or 800 slaves and large tracts of land." † It is worthy of note that he early became convinced of the error of possessing any of his fellow-beings in the bonds of slavery, and took immediate steps to emancipate such of his negroes as he legally could. His response to the Writings of Swedenborg was immediate and intense. He opened correspondence with Robert Hindmarsh in London, and secured all the procurable publications of the Church.

It has been known that the first New-Church Liturgy in America was published largely at Col. Carter's expense. The details of his connection therewith have never been presented heretofore. The extracts from his letters in this regard which follow make clear his own relation to the project, and throw interesting light on his association with the people who first attempted a New-Church organization in this country.

The first mention of a Liturgy in Col. Carter's correspondence occurs in a letter to one of the first "receivers" of Swedenborg's Writings in Philadelphia.

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*Rev. Willard H. Hinkley, "On the Early Establishment of the New Church," *New-Church Messenger* (1871), vol. 43, page 475.

† Rev. Charles Calcock Jones. "Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States."

State of Maryland, Baltimore Town, 29th November, 1791.

Mr. Francis Bailey, Printer, in Philadelphia.

.....I now inform you that a few of the writings of Baron Emanuel Swedenborg are here—that seven persons in town are attentive readers of these books, all of whom admire the doctrines as taught therein. I have communicated to these new acquaintances a Liturgy recommended to be used by the N. J. Church, containing also a number of Hymns,—two matters which the Rev. Mr. J. Proud was requested to consider and prepare—which mentioned book Mr. Proud presented and the same was read and highly approved of at a convention of a society of the N. J. Church held in London last April.* The wish of the people mentioned above be that the whole liturgy and Hymns be reprinted in America. I desire to know your opinion touching this request. If it may be done consistently, I will take 50 copies thereof.

If an American edition be advisable, I apprehend that a Preface thereto be proper—also, some few alterations. If the Liturgy was before me I should note the number of pages. However, I call it a small book, say 400 duodecimo pages.

The present opportunity will only permit me most humbly to recommend to the people at large The Divine Humanity as the only object of worship.

Adieu, Sir,

R. CARTER.

Under date of January 7, 1792, Mr. Bailey replied to Mr. Carter:

In your last (Nov. 29, 1791) you ask my opinion of publishing an edition of the Liturgy and Mr. Proud's Hymns. I think it would be a useful undertaking, and I wrote last fall to London for a copy with an intention of reprinting it here next summer; but I have lately received a letter from Mr. Mickle of Baltimore, in which he informs me that the members of the New Church in that place had proposed an edition there. (I suppose from your copy, for I have heard of none other in America.) I shall be equally well pleased to see an edition from a press at Baltimore, as from my own, and your generous subscription for 50 copies, may be an incentive to the printer there to undertake the publication. Notwithstanding, I think it probable that I will print an edition on a

* Col. Carter was in error in supposing the Liturgy was by Joseph Proud. In fact it had been prepared by Robert Hindmarsh. The Hymns only had been prepared by Mr. Proud.

small letter (*similar to the* * specimen) in order to make the purchase *price less and the* book more portable than the London copy.

The alterations you suggest in the Liturgy, *in so far as* they be such as confine its place, and localize its use, would doubtless be very proper. I also agree with you that a preface to an American Edition would be necessary, and would be glad to see it from your hand.

The letter from Mr. Mickle of Baltimore which Mr. Bailey had received can be conjectured from the following from another member of the Baltimore group of New-Churchmen to Mr. Carter. The initiative of his Baltimore friends placed Col. Carter for a time in rather an uncomfortable situation which Mr. Bailey's letter just quoted relieved.

Baltimore, December 27, 1791.

Dear Friend:

You may recollect when you were here of your having some thoughts of your getting republished the Hymn Book of the New Church, and as you came to no determination, would be glad to know your intention. There are two young gentlemen, by name Samuel and John Adams, brethren, that are reading the Works of E. Swedenborg, who have a Printing-Office, and offer to print a thousand copies of the above book at their own expense; I live at present with them and know their circumstances. They have a considerable sum of money out, but at present are disappointed in receiving it; and as it is customary to advance money for the paper, for printing any book, I think it necessary to advance some to them for that purpose.—I would not mention this to you if I could get in my own money.—Further, I think it is better for us to get the book printed on our own account, and only pay them for printing them, then the profits arising from printing them could be appropriated to the good of the Society. This they are agreed to. We suppose it is best to issue out proposals for printing said book by subscriptions, which are composed, and would have been out before now had we have had one of the books to know how much it makes. The printers have engaged to print, for a gentleman, a large work, which will go to press in a few weeks; and in mean time, if you will send the Hymn Book with a sum of money for to

* The italics in this letter supply conjectured words for those missing on account of a torn edge in the original.

procure printing paper for said book, they will begin it immediately, and finish it with all despatch. . . .

I and our friends have no doubt but that you will send the Hymn Book the first opportunity. I conclude at present, sir, with remaining Your humble servant,

CHRISTIAN KRAMER.

Mr. Kramer's importunity is evident in several of his letters, but Col. Carter does not appear in his replies to be in the least disturbed thereby.

Virginia, Westmoreland County, Nomony Hall,
16th January 1792.

Mr. Christian Kramer,
at Messrs. Samuel and John Adams
in Baltimore, Printers.

Dear Friend:—Your letter of the 27th day of last month, December, by Post, was carried to Richmond Town, and from thence brought hither.

You advise therein that Messrs. Samuel and John Adams of Baltimore, Printer, will reprint the third edition of the Liturgy of the New Church containing the Forms of the Administration of Baptism and the Holy Supper also 304 Hymns and Spiritual Songs by the Rev. Mr. Joseph Proud printed in the year 1790,—that they strike off one thousand copies and will set about the work immediately, provided that paper be bought. You say that it is better for thee and myself to get the Book printed on our own account and only pay Adams for printing and that the profit arising from Adams' reprinting is to be appropriated to the good of the society, —that is, the London society of which Mr. Robert Hindmarsh is a member.

On the 20th of last November, at Baltimore Town, I wrote a letter to Mr. Francis Bailey of Philadelphia, Printer..... Mr. Bailey's answer is not come to hand, therefore I am not at liberty to join with yourself and Messrs. Adams and shall wait till I hear from Mr. Bailey.

Your plan of printing the Liturgy etc. in a large type does not appear to be exceptionable, and if I were disengaged I would give an order for the whole quantity of paper, and I would begin an Introduction and make such alterations so to fit the Book to be used in the U.S.

That copy of the Magazine called the New Jerusalem which I had lately at Baltimore fell out of the carriage near Port Tobacco and I fear is lost.

Dear friend let this suffice at present.

R. C.

It is rather surprising that Col. Carter's suggestion that the London Society receive the profits arising from the sale of the Liturgy aroused no objection from Mr. Kramer. The latter in his reply, however, makes no further comment in this connection other than to indicate that all were united in the desire to have the book printed and circulated as soon as possible.

Baltimore, February 22, 1792.

Dear Friend:

Yours of the 16th of January I received and saw the reasons why you did not send the Hymn book which is very much wanted here at present. Messrs. Mickel, Adams and myself have sent letters to our friend Bailey respecting the Hymn book, and the answer he sent us concerning it was, that he would be glad if we were to reprint it in Baltimore, and he would do all in his power in spreading them abroad. He has sent for one to Europe which he expects to receive in the Spring, but that makes no difference. If it is done in Baltimore he would be glad, as it is his desire to have it spread abroad as well as ours immediately. If the distance between us were not so far I would send you his letters to us. In order that you may comply quickly with our desire, I will inform you how it is at present with us here. . . .

A learned minister of the Church of England perused the Works, and has received the Doctrines of E. Swedenborg in this Town, named James Wilmer, and we are now forming ourselves into a society, and want the Liturgy very much which you can furnish us with. By this you may see our situation and hope you will send the Book, and give us your assistance in having it reprinted by the Adams's. The number which will be printed will not be less than one thousand. . . .

Mr. Byard wants to have his children christened which cannot be done until the clergyman sees the Liturgy. I add no more at present but

Remain yours, etc.

CHRISTIAN KRAMER.

P.S. The Rev. Mr. Wilmer of Baltimore presents respectable (sic) compliments to Mr. Carter and most earnestly requests a sight of the Liturgy of the New Church as early as convenient, which when he sees will preach. Any further communications from Mr. Carter shall be respectfully attended to by Mr. Wilmer.

Our present day postal service is so much a part of our lives that we take it as a matter of course. The various

arrangements for the transmission of letters, the cost of postage, and the amount of time consumed in traveling in Col. Carter's day are items which cannot but attract our interest. Mail to Nomony Hall, on the north bank of the Rappahannock River, was received either by way of Alexandria, or of Fredericksburg, or of Richmond Town. Baltimore was about a hundred miles away by water up Chesapeake Bay; by road it must have been one hundred and sixty or seventy miles. The ten days over winter roads consumed by the delivery of Mr. Kramer's letter to Mr. Carter must have been considered fairly good time. Travel by boat during the winter months was at best precarious. Books and other articles easily damaged by water could not with safety be transported during the stormy months by ship. Communications to and from England sometimes were six or seven months in transit.

Another detail of interest in the following letter is the fact that Col. Carter is uncertain as to the dignity he shall ascribe to the name of the young republic in which he lives. Is its name worthy of capital initial letters? We must remember that he is writing within ten years of the close of the American War of Independence. Less than sixteen years before, the Declaration of Independence had been signed. Was perhaps the former Councillor under the Royal Governor not so thoroughly in accord with the new order of things, or had he simply not accustomed himself to the new name, that he could refer to England as "This Land," and contrast it with "these our united states"?

Virginia, Westmoreland County, 5th March, 1792.
Mr. Christian Kramer at
Messrs. Samuel and John Adams's
Printing Office in
Baltimore Town, Maryland;
Dear Friend:—

Your favor of the 22nd day of last month February came to hand yesterday by Post. I here inclose a copy of the Liturgy of the new Church etc., 3rd Edition printed by R. Hyndmarsh (sic) London. This book to be reprinted by Messrs. Sam'l and John Adams printers in Baltimore town, the Liturgy, Form of the

administrations of the Baptism, the Holy Supper, and Catechism, these to be printed with types of the size of the Copy sent, the Hymns with a larger type than the copy, at the head of each Hymn and Doxology initial letters expressive of their different metres and where the poetry is to be accommodated to neither long, short, nor common metre, note the syllables of such in each line and refer to melody to Psalms of the like metres. This copy has no Table to find out any Hymn by the first line of it. I propose such a Table be added and that there be a certain character set at each line to represent each measure of the poetry.

Some few alterations in the prayers: Page 46, line 16 "This Land" read "these our united states" (sic)—Page 47, line 11, "King and Royal Family, both houses of Parliament" read President of the united states (sic) both houses of the Legislature—Page 47, lines 20, 21, 22, "And defend our sovereign King George, his Queen Charlotte, the Prince of Whales (sic) and all the Royal Family" read the President of the United states (sic)—Page 48, line 7, "Kingdoms" read our united states (sic)—Page 64, line 17, "and defend our sovereign King George, his Queen Charlotte, the Prince of Whales (sic) and all the Royal Family" read the President of the United states—Page 65, line 4, "Kingdoms" read our united states (sic)—

It is thought that a preface should be added to this Liturgy etc. to be reprinted by Messrs. Adams. I will prepare a Preface, it to be referred to yourself and others for correction. A Table to find out any Hymn by the first line shall be sent you. My son George Carter will pass through your town shortly.

Your information touching the Rev. Mr. James Wilmer I trust filled me with gratitude expecting that he will be a powerful advocate of the heavenly doctrines of the N.J.C. I have a desire to know from whence Mr. W. came and whether he has a family. I send him in this packet 1 Copy of the Order of Worship for the use of the N. C. together with the forms of the administration of Baptism of Infants, of Adults, and of the Holy Supper—one copy of the Psalms of David translated from the original Latin of the Hon. E. S.

I do not approve of the size of the Liturgy now sent, but do prefer large octavo paper. Adams's Book will then be thinner than the present Book.

I now authorize you to call on Mr. G. Prestman to procure thick strong paper on my account sufficient for 1000 Copies of the Liturgy of the N. J. C.—for probably I cannot write either to Mr. Prestman or to Mr. Wilmer by this post.

Diligence shall be used to dispose of whatever pieces Messrs. Adams has printed if any thereof should be sent to me to sell.

12 Copies of the 9 Questions concerning the Holy Trinity.
12 Copies of the Life and Death of E. S.
6 Copies of Ralph Mather's familiar letters.
30 Copies of the 3 last named publications may be sent to me myself chargeable therewith.

On reading your letter again now before me part thereof may be construed that Messrs. Adams's will decline reprinting of Liturgy etc. unless they be considerably assisted. If this be your information I beg leave to remove the difficulty and do now engage to furnish the said Printers with whatever they may want provided the work be set about immediately and finished with dispatch.

A weekly intercourse from Fredericksburg to this place is kept up by a subscription so that subscribers' letters are not chargeable with postage till put into the Post Office at Fredericksburg. Our private rider received a dollar here and he was directed to deposit it at the P.O. at Fredericksburg the charge of postage on it from thence to Baltimore town. I am, Dear Sir, Your very Hum. Servt,

ROBT. CARTER.

During the following week Mr. Carter found time to write to the minister who, as it seemed, had so providentially appeared to espouse the cause of the New Church. He expressed his pleasure at Mr. Wilmer's conversion, wished him success in preaching the doctrines, and advised the opening of a small school for children as a means of livelihood.

Virginia, Westmoreland County, Nomony Hall,
12th March, 1792.

The Rev. Mr. James Wilmer:—

Letter to be left at Messrs. Sam'l and John Adams's Printing Office in Baltimore Town.

I hope that Messrs. Adams's are now engaged in reprinting the Liturgy of the N. Church from the copy I forwarded this day week by Post. I expected advice of the receipt thereof on this day. However, I am disappointed. I gave our private Rider a Dollar directing him to pay the postmaster at Fredericksburg postage for that packet from thence to Baltimore-town. I now deliver to said rider ¼ of a dollar, that this letter may pass free also. Adieu, Sir,

ROBT. CARTER.

The Adams brothers construed Mr. Carter's letter to Mr. Kramer of March 5th equivalent to an order to them, which they confirmed by the following:

Baltimore, March 22, 1792.

Sir:

We have received the Book for printing, and have made a calculation of the same—One Thousand of said Book, the printing and binding to be done in an elegant manner will be £250, which was agreed upon at a meeting of our society at Mr. Didier's, where one of us was present. According to your order, after we had concluded upon the price, Mr. Kramer and one of us waited upon Mr. Prestman and showed him your letter. Mr. Prestman said it was out of his power at present to advance the money necessary for the paper to print said Book, as his money was all in stock at present, or he would advance it with pleasure; but if you would give an order upon some one here, he would procure it for us. As one of us is going to Philadelphia in a week or two should be glad to receive money necessary to procure paper for said Book, as we suppose ourselves better judges of the paper than Mr. Prestman—250 or 300 Dollars at present will be wanting—and shall set about the work immediately, and finish it with all possible dispatch. We proposed to the Society above mentioned that we would print 1000 more with yours, if you pleased, as we are convinced they would all be sold in a short time. Please inform us of this, whether you would have any objections or not to our printing 1000 with yours. We are about the proposals for said Book, which will be out in a few days.

With respect Sir, we remain

Yours etc.

Sam'l & John Adams.

P.S. Mr. Kramer's letter, agreeably to his order, we have transcribed the other side of this.

Dear Friend:

Yours of the 5th ult. with the Litterg (sic), Hymnbook and Salms (sic) of David I received per post, for which I paid, or am to pay 9 Dol. and an half, but finding in your letter that you had paid the postage here, caused me to go to the postmaster the second time, when he shewed me the bill from Fredericksburg, in which the nine 9 Dol. and an half were charged. Seeing your kind offer for the printing the Hymn Book etc., I desired the Messrs. Adams to make a calculation for the same, which they did, & informed me that one thousand copies neatly printed bound and billeted with gold on the back, would come to £250. I thought it best to call a meeting of our friends upon the same, which I did, & we met at Mr. Didier's, Mr. Adams present. After consulting upon it, it was agreed they should be done at that price. The next day, Mr. Adams and myself went to Mr. Prestman's and showed him your

order. Mr. Prestman said it was out of his power to advance the money necessary for said Book at present, or he would do it with pleasure, tho' he supposed you would give an order upon some one here. . . .

We are very happy now in having a small society, a priest, the Litergy (sic) & Hymnbook, but have no temple, tho' our preacher is so zealous in the cause, if he cannot get a house to preach in, he will take the Market House. I add no more at present but remain

Yours etc.

CHRISTIAN KRAMER.

Mr. Robert Carter.

On April 1, 1792,* Rev. James Wilmer "opened the Church" in the Court-House of Baltimore to a "large concourse of people." Notice of the meeting had been given by the distribution of hand-bills throughout the town on the day previous. Attention was called to the movement, by the public press, in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* in its issue of April 17th, by a brief letter accompanying a full statement of the Faith of the New Church and a summary of its doctrines. In a letter to Robert Hindmarsh, dated April 10th, Mr. Kramer reported this important step "to the New Church at large in Great Britain," stating that the Baltimore group numbered twenty-two, and mentioning that Col. Carter had furnished a copy of the Liturgy which was to be reprinted. Mr. Wilmer reported his first services to Mr. Carter on April 12th, and stated in the course of his letter, referring to the Liturgy, "I believe the Prayer Book is not yet commenced." In this letter, also, Mr. Wilmer suggests that complete harmony does not exist in his little flock, that there are signs of wavering faith among the group, but he expresses confidence in the sincerity particularly of Mr. Didier and Mr. Mickle.

The reasons that work had not yet begun on the printing of the Liturgy were at least two-fold: first, the printers had thus far received no money for the purchase of paper; and,

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* For a more complete report of these details see Hindmarsh's "Rise and Progress of the New Church," page 148 ff.

second, the proposed Preface and Table had not yet been forwarded. For both of these needs Mr. Carter was now prepared to provide.

Virginia, Westmoreland County,
14th April, 1792.

Messrs. Samuel and John Adams,
Printers in Baltimore-town.
Sirs:

Your letter of the 22nd day of last month, March, by Post is now before me. Elder Benjamin Dawson will deposit with you Three Hundred Dollars to enable you to purchase paper, etc. for printing One Thousand Copies of the Liturgy of the New J. Church.

It appears from your letter mentioned before, and Mr. C. Kramer's of the same date, both taken together, that 1000 copies of the Liturgy, bound and lettered on the back with gold letters, are rated at £250, Maryland currency, which books are said to be my property. I shall reject this opinion, however. I do not heartily concur therein for the following reasons:

I apprehend that no expression in my former letters can be construed to make the aforesaid copies mine. I do engage therein to lend money to provide necessary paper, rather than your intention should be frustrated, but that loan was not to make the books my own.

I consider that the present Liturgy of the New Church will be revised, added to, and amended in the future: neither is it proposed that one Form of Worship in the New Church is to be adopted by the different states and complexions of mankind.

It is advised that the first thousand copies of the Liturgy be bound and lettered. Skins and Gold Leaf, both articles very costly —and will not the poor man say that a book of five shillings is not intended for him.

It is proposed that—

100 of the first thousand copies—Pasteboard covered with skin
200 Pasteboards covered with glazed linen
300 Do covered with blue paper—leaves not cut
400 Stitched together—leaves not cut.

If the first thousand copies are to be charged to myself, I expect then that the foregoing directions are to be complied with. Whatever necessary money to complete the work you may call for shall be furnished. I am of opinion that all diligence should be used on the present occasion.

The Preface and Table that were begun, mentioned in a former letter make part of this packet. I beg leave to submit both of them

to the consideration of the Reverend Mr. Wilmer and all your neighbors who are readers and believers of the Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, and if either the Preface or Table shall be approved of, then add them to the Liturgy; also the other alterations proposed and mentioned in my letter of the 5th of last month, March, to Mr. C. Kramer.

I shall only add that I heartily desire an increase of mercies both spiritual and temporal, Sir,

Adieu,

ROBT. CARTER.

The Preface which Col. Carter had prepared, as it subsequently appeared, read as follows:

The third Edition of the New-Jerusalem Church Liturgy, &c. printed in the Year 1790 by Mr. ROBERT HINDMARSH, No. 32, Clarkenwell, London, is calculated for the kingdom of Great-Britain only; but the Promoters of this Copy thereof (with a few Alterations) hope that this very excellent little Book is now fitted for public and social Worship throughout the United States.

We are of the Opinion that this Form of Prayer is drawn from the holy Word, and is adjusted to preserve the Doctrines of the New Church in their Purity—and is at the same time a powerful Guard against the Introduction of any Heresy.

It is expected that the Use of a proper Formula, in public Worship has a Tendency to implant in the Minds of Children and young People, true Ideas of the One Object of divine Adoration, to familiarize them with the Word of God and his holy Commandments; and thus to lay the Foundation of their future spiritual Life on Christ alone, who is the Rock of Ages.

Some members of the Old Church say, that there is such a Gift, or Spirit of Prayer bestowed by the Holy Ghost on true Christians, as enables them to address Heaven on all Occasions copiously and suitably, in unpremeditated Words of their own, which they think ought not to be restrained by appointing Forms of Prayer, even for the public Use of Congregations. However, this Opinion is discountenanced even by the Rev. Mr. JOHN CALVIN; for he wrote to the Protector of England under Edw. VI. in these Words: "As to a Form of Prayer and of Ecclesiastical Rites, I highly approve that it should be certain; from which it may not be lawful for any Minister to depart—as well in Consideration of the Weakness and Ignorance of some, as that it may more plainly appear, how our Churches agree among themselves—and lastly, that a Stop may be put to the Giddiness of those who affect Novelties."

We find Forms of Prayer presented on several Occasions in the

Law of Moses, Num. vi., 22, 23, Deut. xxi., 7, xxvi., 13. The Psalms of DAVID is a whole Book of Forms. The Jewish Synagogue used a Form, Luke xi., 2. Nay, at the very Time when the Gift of inspired Prayer was common, there is a strong appearance in the iv Chap. of the Acts, that the Apostles and their Followers used a Form then set down: For how else could they *"lift up their Voices and say with one Accord,"* as Verse 24 assures us they did. Hence it may be presumed that extemporary Prayer is a modern Idea. It is equally said, "I will pray with the Spirit, and I will sing with the Spirit." Without Scruple, at public and social Worship, all use Psalms and Hymns; which undoubtedly are Forms of human Composition.

Reader—The Promoters of this Edition were induced thereto on a Belief that the Lord Jesus Christ is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; that on the Consummation of the Old Church, He departed from it, and takes up His Abode in the New Church—On this Consideration we do most earnestly recommend the Theological Writings of Baron EMAN. SWEDENBORG, believing that he was divinely *inspired to write* for the Use of the New Jerusalem Church.

April 10, 1792.

During the month of April, the Society in Baltimore completed its organization by appointing a Standing Committee of four members, patterning on the Third General Conference held in London the previous year, which committee was to act for three months "for the purpose of settling all business of correspondence, as well as other matters concerning the Church." Information regarding this step in organization was given by the Committee to Col. Carter in a letter dated the 24th, and the following day similar information was sent to the London Society. Both letters expressed the hope that a Temple might soon be built in Baltimore, for after meeting one Sunday in the Court House, and the next Sunday in the "Dunkards' Meeting-house," arrangements had been made to meet in "the old theatre for one quarter of a year."

Baltimore, 24 April 1792.

Robert Carter, Esq.

Hon. Sir:—

. . . The Hymn Book which you requested to be printed is not yet in the press, but now that we have formed into a more orderly system we hope soon to have it accomplished. . .

The Society wishes all letters of information and business respecting them as a body would be directed to the committee—according to the rules and regulations of the Society in London from which we have now established ours. We remain for & in behalf of the Society

Your Obedient Hble
Servants

John Cooper
John Boyer
John Mickle
Hy Didier

Soon after the Committee had addressed the above to Col. Carter, his representative arrived with the money for the Liturgy. The Committee hastened to appraise Mr. Carter of the fact, and took the occasion to tell him of their letter to the London Society asking for a loan of money to assist in building a Temple. In closing they express hope of seeing Mr. Carter in person soon in Baltimore.

Baltimore, 28th Apr., 1792.

Robert Carter, Esq.
Nomony Hall

Esteemed Friend:

We wrote you the 24th Inst. informing that we had formed ourselves into a society, and appointed a committee to settle all business representing the church, since which time Mr. Dawson arrived in this place, and finding there was a committee appointed in the church for such business, he committed the disposal of your money to us which we have done according to your direction, taking the necessary precaution to have the work forwarded as speedily as possible and taking the Messrs. Adams's obligation to perform it.

There was a mistake made in the representation of our former meeting, concerning the printing of the Books. The sense of that meeting was, that the books were to be printed with the money you offered to advance, and the net proceeds amounting from the sales, was to be remitted you, we taking the disposal of them to ourselves.

We remain your
Humble Servants in Christ,

Henry Didier
John Cooper
John Boyer
John Mickle

The formal receipt for the money is among Col. Carter's papers, and reads as follows:

RECD. Baltimore, 27th April, 1792 from Robert Carter, Esq.
Three Hundred Dollars
on acct of printing the Liturgy and Psalm Book of the New Jerusalem Church by the hands of Mr. Benjamin Dawson.
300 Dollars. Sam'l and Jno. Adams

Witness
Hy Didier
Robert Mickle

It is interesting to remember that in Col. Carter's day facilities such as exist at present for making copies of letters were not yet invented. It was necessary for the careful business man to have his correspondence copied by hand. One of the functions of the schoolmaster on the old colonial plantation was to serve as "copyist" for his patron. When the matter was of slight importance, it would seem that the task of copying might be assigned as a schoolroom task for the children to accomplish. Thus it is that many of these Carter letters are written in varying styles of chirography as now one amanuensis, now another, is employed. Among the merchants of the day, it was quite possible that some might rise to a position of considerable affluence without a comfortable ability to write and spell. Such a one must depend upon his clerk, while the less successful tradesman must employ a man of letters, to transcribe his thoughts into business form from his rough draft, as the need might arise. It seems apparent that Mr. Christian Kramer belonged to this latter class. When he wished a carefully drawn up letter, he had it transcribed for him by the Adams Brothers, Printers, with whom he lived for a time. To Mr. Kramer was entrusted some of the correspondence of the original New-Church group in Baltimore. He it was who wrote first to Mr. Carter concerning the Liturgy, perhaps at the instance of the Adamses, who were not, of course, exactly disinterested parties. It was Mr. Kramer, also, who addressed the first letter to the Church in Great Britain. With

the advent of the Rev. Mr. Wilmer, and the more complete organization of the society, distrust of Mr. Kramer seems to have arisen. The exact cause is not clear. Perhaps Mr. Kramer hoped personally to benefit by the publication of the Liturgy; possibly he doubted Mr. Wilmer's sincerity in espousing the New-Church cause. At all events he seems to have been at odds with the rest of his fellow "receivers," as is manifest by the next letter.

Baltimore, April 28, 1792.

Dear Friend:

In my last I wrote 250 pounds was too much, but the word "too much" was left out by the transcriber. After the letter was gone, I send Boyers with the book to another printer, and he made his calculation to do the printing work *for 60 pound and he finding the paper, and then 50£ for binding would have come to 110£* the thousand. I after received your last. I went to them which are called Comity. I told them again who to ask, but as they by *Willmere* his management have taken things out of mine hand, I do not know how it is now. If it had gone to my will, the Book might have been bound in ledder, sold for *half a Dollar* and might have produced seventy pound profit. These things I wrote you that you may know how it is, but wish you would not mention the same. Whenever external and interested men govern, it will bring forth crooked things.

I have given you a true account of everything, so much as I know and hope you will excuse mine bad writings, for I see we cannot trust to transcribers and remain your brother in that knowledge which passeth understanding, and in life everlasting.

CHRISTIAN KRAMER.

P.S. The postmaster will have the 6½ dollar yet, three I have payed, and seeing in yours concerning your writing to the postmaster, I do not like to pay more till further information from you, tho the *Comity* tell me pay but will not do it themselves.

It may have been mere coincidence that the following letter from the Adams brothers to Col. Carter bore the same date as the one just quoted from Mr. Kramer. It is probable, however, that the printers were aware that Mr. Kramer was writing directly to Mr. Carter without employing their services as "transcriber." Doubtless they suspected the general content of the letter, and hastened to write their own version of the matter.

Baltimore, April 28, —92.

Dr. Sir:—

By Mr. Dawson we received your favor of the 14th inst. and noted its contents. For the 300 dollars advance payment, for reprinting Liturgy of N. Church, we have given a receipt. The strictest observance shall be given to your directions. Tomorrow one of us intend going for paper. As soon as it can be made or obtained, the Book will be put to press, and finished with careful despatch. Divested of all self pecuniary interest, we cannot conceive your mode of binding the Book not the most eligible. The difference in prices of the various ways you have ordered the binding will not exceed 9d. from the pamphlet up to the highest. Besides we conceive a Book of its kind would not appear suitably clad in a pamphlet dress;—However, we will adhere to your order herein, unless otherwise commanded. It is the unanimous opinion of the Society of the N. J. Church here concerning a report that has been made here by a person, of our having *charged too high* for this Book: *That it must be the offspring of malice:* For, on our being apprised of this, we immediately insisted on their making application to other printers. This they have done, and find our price to be reasonable. We have a standard for our own criterion in charging for printing work: from this we have not deviated. However, we have thought proper to charge no more than 4/9 for each book completely bound—proportionately lower in pamphlets, agreeably to the difference before mentioned.

But one of us can see and believe satisfactorily the New Jerusalem Church truths—both are sensible that it reconciles many apparent contrarieties; but one of us can't give up some of the Creed of the Old Church. If it is from Heaven, it will prosper, and enlighten the dark and benighted world. May it enlighten one of us! That it may find Godspeed, is the prayer of Sir,

Your respectful, humble servants

SAMUEL AND JOHN ADAMS.

In a letter dated May 8th, Mr. Carter is informed by Mr. Wilmer of "C. Kramer's duplicity"; Mr. Wilmer brands him as "a very contentious, dangerous character."

Mr. Adams, I find, has agreed with the committee under your directions to do the Prayer Books. Your supplement to the preface is highly acceptable, and wisely calculated to remove prejudices.

In order that the Standing Committee might have in their hands all details regarding the proposed book, Col. Carter wrote to them on the tenth of May, listing again the several changes he had recommended in the Liturgy text, and the

other specifications he had suggested. From this date there is an hiatus of more than two months in his correspondence regarding the Liturgy, which is doubtless coincident with his own sojourn at Baltimore, when he could of course confer personally with all his New-Church friends there.

It is on the 17th of July that he again mentions the Liturgy in a letter to the Rev. Bryan Fairfax, in Fairfax County, Rector of Christ Church, Alexandria,—a letter which is the first of a series of important discussions on various doctrinal subjects which the two carried on for some time.*

I very lately came from Baltimore-town in the State of Maryland,—and it is said there that you had read some of the Theological Writings of Baron Swedenborg;—that you considered the Author to have been divinely instructed.

Mr. Carter in this letter particularly requested a discussion on the subject of "Apostacy." He took occasion also to forward to the Rector several books, among which was

Order of worship for the New Church.—Note—The 4th Edition thereof now printing by Sam'l and John Adams in Baltimore-town, printers—a Catechism, Spiritual Songs and Hymns, and a Preface added too.

The progress of the Liturgy to its final appearance before the public is indicated by the following letters.

Baltimore, August 22, 1792.

Respected Sir:—

We have but few moments to write. Would just inform you Hymns &c. have been finished some time. Have advertised them both in handbills and newspapers,—sold by us. Any you may choose to fix on to sell shall be inserted. How shall we send copies of said hymns you want? How are we to draw balance of account for said work—please give orders.

Familiar Letters wants to be encouraged with greater subscriptions than we have as yet to enable us to print—our poverty pre-

* See extensive extracts in this regard from Carter's Letters in an article by Rev. John Whitehead in *New-Church Messenger*, June 13, 1917.

vents us running risks. Have you subscription papers for it in your County?

Haste
Your Humble servants
SAM'L & JOHN ADAMS.

Col. Carter promptly called upon the Baltimore Committee for a report, and gave instructions to them concerning his wishes in regard to the sale of the books in the following letter.

Virginia, Westm'd County, Nomony Hall,
1st September 1792.

Mr. H. Didier, J. Mickle }
Mr. Wm. Cooper, J. Boyer }

My dear Sirs:—Messrs. Sam'l & John Adams's, Printers, in Baltimore-town, advise in a very late letter, that the Liturgy of the New Church & Hymns &c, which Edition they printed, has been finished some time, & they ask what number of copies may be sent to myself here, and they call on me to pay the balance due to them on account thereof.

Be pleased, Sirs, to superintend the sale of said whole book, and advise accordingly. Charge to me 25 copies and forward said books to this place, by a safe conveyance, and for information consult Mr. George Prestman—to whom present two copies of the Liturgy writing in one copy "R. Carter to Mr. Geo. Prestman", in the other "R. Carter to his daughter, Julia Carter".

Pray make a statement of Messrs. Adams's account shewing therein the balance due from myself to them and forward it to me.

I have received no letter since I saw you, and am anxious to hear of your standing and whether the Rev'd Mr. Wilmer has proselyted some in Harford County or elsewhere.

Yours in the affection of
Genuine Goodness and Truth,
ROB'T CARTER

Mr. Henry Didier
Merch't in Baltimore-town
State of Maryland.

Note.—R. C. delivered the original letter to Mr. Christopher Collins, he to put it into the Post Office at Alexandria—if no private conveyance should be offering. Tuesday the 4th Sept.

The Committee's reply is contained in the next letter.

Baltimore, 23rd September.

Robert Carter, Esq.,
Dear Sir:—

We received yours of the 1st inst. in which you mention having received a letter from Messrs. S. and J. Adams, informing you the Hymn Book had been finished some time,—the printing has, but the binding is not yet finished.

We have, agreeable to your order, left in the hands of Mr. George Prestman 25 copies to be forwarded the first safe opportunity. I have likewise presented him and your daughter Miss Julia with a copy each. We will be as industrious as possible in forwarding the sale. We have sent 30 copies to Bedford in Pennsylvania and mean distributing them among the book stores where we suppose there is a prospect of disposing of them. . . .

We send you a statement of Messrs. Adams Acct.

"Dr. Robert Carter, Esq., (Virginia)
in Acct with S.&J. Adams Co.,

To printing 1000 copies	*		*	By cash	112.10.0
of the Liturgy of the	*		*		
N. J. Church @ 3/9	*	187.10.0	*		
To binding 1000 do	*		*		
@ 1/	*	50.	*	By balance	125. 0.0
		£237.10.0			£237.10.0

As the binders are in want of money as well as ourselves, we will esteem it a favor if Mr. Carter will give orders for payment immediately.

(Signed) S. & J. Adams."

* * * * * *

This is a duplicate of their account, and we think they appear rather pressing as the work is not yet entirely delivered. . . .

Affectionately yours
Hy Didier, for the Committee.

Mr. Wilmer reports, on September 22nd, that "The Prayer Book of the New Church is out and getting into circulation. Prejudices appear much to subside." He continues with a brief account of his work, including some missionary trips about the country. Regarding the latter effort he remarks, "The extemporary mode, will, I presume, best suit the people at large, and occasionally to make use of the Liturgy."

By the first of October, Col. Carter has copies of the Liturgy in hand; for, early in the month, in reply evidently to inquiries about the Doctrines, he writes a letter to "The Chancellor of the High Court of Chancery George Wythe, Chancellor," and an identical one on the same day to "Major Thomas Jones, Henrico County," stating that Swedenborg's Writings are being reprinted in the United States, and sending copies of his several works then published, among which he lists "The Liturgy of the the New Jerusalem Church—the Liturgy is a production arising from the Baron's Writings."

Another method of distribution of information regarding the Church is indicated in the following letter which also gives an interesting glimpse of Col. Carter's views on a musical education for his children. The letter is addressed to Dr. Samuel Jones of Philadelphia.

Baltimore-town, 29th October 1792.

Some time ago I wrote a letter to my son George to send a guitar to his sister Julia Carter, who lives with Mr. and Mrs. Prestman in this town, intending then to have her taught to play on the guitar, she having a voice and retains melody. As to George Carter's practising on a musical instrument, I disapprove thereof, which disapprobation I lately expressed to him,—and then I recommended singing, so as to take either, first, Tenor, or Bass part.

I now desire a guitar on the latest constructions be sent here for the use of Julia Carter, and that George Carter be taught vocal music as mentioned before.

President Maxy's private and public character renders him an object of imitation—however, G. Carter is to continue at Philadelphia and is not to return to Providence College. . . .

P.S. I beg leave to address
the following remarks, particularly to G. C.,
because I expect to forward
this letter by post, also I am much engaged
in business.

George—I have received your letters dated in the months of August and October last—also sundries delivered in a packet very lately by Mr. Geo. Prestman. I now beg the favor of Dr. Jones to give you exclusive of your allowance, three prices on the cost on the printed pieces inclosed in said packet. Apply also to Doctor

Jones for money and buy two copies of the 4th Edition of the Liturgy of the New Church, printed by Samuel and John Adams of Baltimore Town and also sold by Mr. Francis Bailey, printer in Philadelphia: one of which books present to Dr. Samuel Jones, the other keep. Mr. Joseph Proud is the author of the Hymns and Spiritual Songs in this Liturgy, it is said that he was lately a minister of the Baptist Church in England,—but Mr. Proud is now a minister of the New Church. His Poem addressed to all Lovers of Truth, I do heartily recommend.

It is not convenient to write to either of the Professors whom you mention in a letter upon the table, but if the measure of health, which I now experience should be continued, I then fully intend writing to Doctor Rogers and other professors.

Farewell

ROBERT CARTER.

Dr. Samuel Jones
Mr. George Carter

Col. Carter's stay in town was short this time, and occurred while Mr. Wilmer was absent on a missionary tour. Mr. Wilmer reports on November 13th, that interest is expressed in the Writings from North Carolina. Regarding the Liturgy, he remarks:

Messrs. Didier and Mickle say that you left no particular orders about the Hymn Books. Perhaps you may think it advisable to have them noticed in the *Maryland Journal* etc, as this paper circulates far and wide.

Mr. Carter's reply tells of his stormy passage on his trip home from Baltimore to Nomony Hall, of his narrow escape from shipwreck when the vessel on which he was passenger was blown ashore by the high wind, and only the providential coincidence of a falling wind and a rising tide resulted in the safe conclusion of the voyage. The part of the letter that bears upon our subject is as follows:

Virginia, Westmoreland County,
30 November 1792.

Rev. Mr. Wilmer

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 14th of this month, November, by Post, came to hand in due time. . . .

The management as to selling the New Church Liturgy printed by Messrs. John and Samuel Adams, Printers, in Baltimore Town,

I trust solely to the Baltimore Town Committee. I wish to exchange 10 copies of the said edition now remaining with me, having no Index, for the like number of copies having an Index, but I consider the present season not favorable to send them by water.

I am, Dear Sir,
Yours affectionately,
in the Gospel Bond,
ROBT. CARTER.

The address of the Baltimore Society to President Washington, as he passed throug their town during his tour of the United States following his election to his second term, is dated January 22, 1793.* On February 5th, Mr. Wilmer writes to Mr. Carter:

This day's mail carries the Liturgy and several tracts to the President. Fifty copies of the Liturgy and 50 copies of my printed sermons go to the Governor of Georgia, by Captain Hall from this town.

The reception of the Liturgy by the general public was very disappointing. In a postscript to a letter which Mr. Didier writes to Mr. Carter on the 10th of February, he says:

The sales of the Liturgy and Hymns goes on very slow here: we have sent 50 copies to Savannah by Capt. John Hall, 30 to Bedford in Pennsylvania, 12 to Romney in Virginia. Mr. Adams will send what they had binding in Wilmington to Mr. Bailey in Philadelphia. Very few others are disposed as yet.

In March, Mr. Carter sent, on request, information regarding Swedenborg's Writings to "Mr. Elisha White, near Cold Harbor in Hanover County," and to "Mr. Philip Merry, Four miles below King George Court House." Included among the books sent in each of these instances was the Liturgy. With these exceptions, no further mention of the book is made in Col. Carter's correspondence until 1795. Within this period Mr. Carter had taken up permanently residence in Green Street, Baltimore. Mr. Wilmer had become thoroughly discouraged at the slow

* See Hindmarsh's "Rise and Progress," page 154, for the address to Washington and his reply.

reception of the New Church, and, following an attempt to coerce Col. Carter to support him, had returned to the Protestant Episcopal Church. Mr. Carter maintained worship in his own house, preaching himself and also administering the Sacraments. It was doubtless for use in these services that he collected all copies of the Liturgy into his own possession. How slightly fulfilled were the expectations of the printers that they might easily dispose of two thousand copies, the next letter, virtually a receipt, indicates.

Green St., 8th April 1795.

Messrs. Sam'l & John Adams, Printers at Wilmington.

Sirs:—Mrs. Adams yesterday delivered to me 147 copies of Liturgy. Mr. Thomas E. Clayton on the 18th of last December delivered also 653 copies. You charge 79 copies of Liturgy rendered the 20th May 1793 delivered to sundry persons on my account. The foregoing copies mentioned make 879 in all, deficiency say 121 copies of Liturgy. I am

Sir your Hum. Servt.

Robt. Carter.

Col. Carter developed peculiar ideas on government in general and on church organization in particular, which gradually separated from him many of the earnest "receivers" of the Baltimore group. He tried to form his adherents into an organization on June 25, 1797. "Some of the Members of the New Jerusalem Church meet this day, and others, who formed a Society." It was one of the articles of agreement that the association would dissolve automatically at the end of the year. Another of the articles reads thus:

Ninth.—We order that the Lord's Prayer be used in public worship; that Prayers in the Liturgy of the New Church, printed by Sam'l & John Adams, in the year of our Lord 1790 (sic), be used at the pleasure of the Person who shall perform public worship; that our Society may add Petitions to the Prayers referred to, or alter the expressions as often as seems necessary in the future.

An unsigned and apparently unfinished letter in the handwriting of Col. Carter dated Baltimore, 9th Feb., 1798, addressed to Col. Arthur Campbell, Washington Co., Vir-

ginia, comments on this attempt at a society, and indicates that there were too many divergent ideas among the group to form or continue a society. Animal magnetism, infant baptism, the doctrine of universal redemption, no separation from the Old Church, were among the ideas which needed to be harmonized. No further reference is made in Col. Carter's letters to the Liturgy.

HORACE B. BLACKMER.

THE PRESENT RELIGIOUS CRISIS AND AFTER

By John R. Swanton, Ph.D.

WANING denominationalism has been made the subject of a special article in *Scribner's Magazine* by Rev. John Richelsen, pastor of the Kenmore Avenue Presbyterian Church of Buffalo; and parts of it were considered worthy of reproduction in the *Literary Digest* (July 21, p. 28). Says Dr. Richelsen:

> The dissolution of a Protestant church in America today under the usual circumstances, should really be celebrated with a beautiful ritual, filled with the spirit of optimism over the triumph of a better Protestantism.

Though with some doubts whether Dr. Richelsen would thoroughly enjoy a mortuary ritual in which his own church played the part of the deceased, one must sympathize in some measure with him. To anyone familiar with the incredibly small differences in doctrine and government which separate certain church bodies, the only wonder is that many of them have survived so long. But if we imagine sectarian distinctions progressively effaced until but one Protestant, or one Christian, body remains, is all theology at the same time obligingly to be precipitated into a single form in which there will be no differences of opinion? Presumably the compromises which will take place in the course of this syncopation of sects will tend to a progressive broadening of the substructure of belief, and this must mean some form of modernism. Stress will be laid undoubtedly on the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and Christ as revelator of the Father. But the two first propositions may readily be made to include Jews, Mohammedans, various Hindoo sects, and numerous primitive peoples; while the third may be so interpreted that these religions would

find no difficulty with it. I do not wish to be illiberal. This may come about—and of the Divine Providence.

At the same time fellowship in worship cannot mean the fusion of theology and philosophy into one uniform, compromise system. You might as well suggest that the differences between physicists should be adjusted by compromise. Physicists do not, indeed, constitute distinct sects perpetuated by inheritance; but they form, from time to time, schools of opinion, which come to an end or change with the advance of the science. However, advance is made, not by compromising or obscuring beliefs, but by proofs of the superiority of certain of them, proofs resulting in greater definiteness of view on the part of all physicists.

And so, whatever becomes of worshiping bodies, theological and philosophical schools will continue, *provided* theology and philosophy are based on realities, and are not the weavings of idle fancy (as some cavillers would have it). Now a brief consideration should convince anyone that they are based on realities; for what could be more real—to all appearance—than some of the things with which philosophy deals: matter, an ordered universe, organic life, human consciousness, thought and feeling, belief in Deity and immortality?

The necessity of philosophy—or what he understands by it—to physicists, is thus stated by Prof. R. B. Lindsay of the Sloane Laboratory, Yale University:

> When we consider that the early philosophers founded the atomic theory, and that it is just this theory which forms the threshold of our modern attempts at a consistent theory of matter, it seems a pity that physical science and philosophy are so widely aloof in this interesting period of development of knowledge. The rise of the atomic theory in physics and chemistry has been concomitant with a general shifting of major philosophical interest to other fields than ontology and epistemology, namely, to ethics, religion and more recently to psychology. . . . It is a truism that no science can advance far without the aid of a metaphysical element. This bald statement may cause horror to many experimentalists; but by it I am merely emphasizing that the successful development

of any science is absolutely dependent on the manufacture of hypotheses, and that the state of progress to which the particular science has attained is due largely to the character of the postulates on which it has been built.

But if the philosophers must be summoned in to aid physicists in solving the problem of matter, they must also be called in by biologists in solving the problem of organic life, by the psychologists in solving the problems of consciousness and emotion, by the cultural anthropologists in solving such problems as the existence of belief in Deity and immortality, and by all of them in the explanation of general phenomena like orderly process and existence.

And by philosophy I do not see how we can mean anything but theology, even if we try to strip theology of its dogmatic associations. In the introduction to his recent work on "The Worship of Nature," Sir James Frazer has again pointed out the fact that, after all, there are but two fundamental explanations of existing things, one tracing them to "forces inherent in matter," the other describing them as expressions of mind. If the former is true, our interest in philosophy is at an end, because from a knowledge of matter no one could possibly predict organic life, or the human mind and its manifold expressions. All that we can then do is to accept these things as somehow produced.

But if the universe is mind-created, then we, because we also are minds, can enter sympathetically into the structure and process in the world about us, and in some degree understand them. We are supported in this view by two other facts: one, that the concept of "matter" is, after all, an inference, because it is mind that reveals, or seems to reveal, the existence of matter; the other, that human minds, if they do not create, at least organize matter to suit their purposes. And, lest I seem to have strayed into fields in which I have no right to pasture, let me add that, in my studies of the religion of primitive peoples, I have found anthropomorphism, or rather anthropopathism, to be its

central element. If we remove that factor, there is practically nothing left.

While I believe this is what the acceptance of philosophy as an aid to science means, Prof. Lindsay's words indicate that he had no conception of it. But, in fact, you cannot accept the thesis of a mind-ordered universe without committing yourself at the same time to certain limitations in the interpretation of your data. If you grant this, it follows:

I. *That there is nothing useless.* This seems to be contradicted by the presence in bodies of the so-called vestigial organs; and it is a fact that some of these no longer function for the specific purposes for which they were originally intended. Some supposedly useless organs, as for example the vermiform appendix, may prove to be functional; but there are minor structures, like the muscles intended to move the external ear, of which this can hardly be said. The fact that some persons can control these muscles to a very limited extent does not prove real utility. But on the other hand we must remember that what is useless for one particular purpose may not therefore lack utility in every particular. If we are to conceive of man's body as a product of slow, evolutionary unfoldment, it is altogether possible that a minor function is continued on into the ear muscles without which the organism would lack something of its completeness. The evolutionist might argue that they had been preserved as proofs of the doctrine of evolution, while the anti-evolutionist might contend that they remain as warnings of the animal character man is in danger of putting on if he does not live up to his human responsibilities. But it is probable that each vestigial organ expresses certain cells in the brain, and that the possession of both brain calls and corporeal vestiges enable man to maintain a wider circle of sympathies, a more complete understanding of the animal nature and of something in the spiritual corresponding to them, than would otherwise be possible.

II. *There is nothing accidental.* The terms "accidental" or "fortuitous" are used ever and anon by scientists when they mean merely that they cannot detect the aim in the process under consideration. And so when Prof. Crampton tells us that there is no evidence that the variations he observes in certain organisms "have proceeded along orthogenetic lines, while all the evidence is to the contrary effect," and when he concludes that they are "fortuitous," we do not have to agree. All he really means is that the factors governing these variations are not apparent to him. To a biologist of thirty years ago hereditary changes which take place in accordance with what we call the Mendelian laws were just as "fortuitous." Darwin had a keener understanding of the situation when he said frankly that by accidental variations he meant merely variations of unknown cause.

III. *Everything has meaning.* This is simply the positive of the preceding. The contrary thesis may be, and is, upheld; but the extension of science is the extension of natural law, and he who would deny the existence of law in any group of phenomena is accepting the losing side in the struggle. He will have to defend his case by a periodic strategic retreat, as his "haphazard" pheomena are progressively categorized.

IV. *The meaning in things material can derive its origin only from things mental, or, in other words, from things in the Deity: and since material things are numerous and complex, it follows that Mind or Deity from which they spring is complex.* Failure to recognize this has hitherto prevented philosophy or theology from being serviceable to science; and we might add that it has prevented science from being serviceable to philosophy and theology.

The complexity of human minds is, of course, conceded; but in the case of the Supreme, Creative Mind it is either ignored or it is not utilized. In part this is to be attributed to a general belief that, because man can never wholly understand what is infinite, he can never get farther than a

mere recognition of its existence. But it is probably due still more to the fact that evolution—or, if you please, time sequence—is confused with creation. It is easy and natural to suppose that God first created a simple, homogeneous substance out of which were progressively specialized the complexities of our world; but because it is believed to have passed through this simple stage, the ultimate complexity is not associated with any complexity in the Creator.

Yet the atom (whether of Bohr or Schrödinger) and the protoplasm of the germ cell are alike exceedingly complex; and it is interesting to note that development from an egg, which both Huxley and Swedenborg selected as symbols of organic evolution, is not a change from simple to complex but from embryonic complexity to adult complexity. In fact the germ is more complex than the adult, because each adult form utilizes only a limited number of potentialities of the germ, while the latter contains potentialities that will find expression in adult organisms as long as the species lasts. In sexual reproduction, new potentialities are, of course, introduced from other sources with every generation; but this does not alter the essential fact. In biological evolution it is believed that the more generalized forms came earlier in time; and this is equivalent to saying that the earlier were the more complex, though it is possible that we ought to regard lost characters as subsisting in a rudimentary condition, and not as wholly destroyed.

If the primordial organism was preceded by a generalized organic-inorganic unit, such as both Swedenborg and Bertrand Russell suggest, we should be obliged to suppose this more complex still.

Right here we discover the reason for Swedenborg's apparent change of opinion relative to creation by points. In his "Principia" he postulates, between the Infinite and the finite creation, an intermediary entity which he repeatedly calls "the first simple." He says in one place: "The point is a simple and most simple entity, than which nothing can be more simple, since what is simple admits of no

degrees." But when he sets his hand to the "Divine Love and Wisdom," he says: "In God-Man [the Creator] infinite things are one distinctively"; and the equivalent of this he affirmed repeatedly. This is why in several places in his theological writings he warns his readers against entertaining the idea that creation has taken place by means of simple substances. Thus, in "Divine Providence," n. 6:

> Many admit that there is an only substance which is the first substance and the source of all things, but what kind of a substance it is they do not know. They believe it to be so simple that nothing is simpler; that it may be compared to a point with no dimension; and that from an infinite number of such the forms of dimension came into existence.

It is not, therefore, necessary for us to discard his concept of the first natural point in the "Principia," but merely to purge it of any implications of simplicity and to regard it rather as the most highly complex of all created things, since it is derived immediately from the infinitely complex Deity.

The unfoldment in the life of an individual, in the life of a race, or in the life of a universe, is due to the utilization of a certain proportion of the potentialities in each. In one adult form a large number of potentialities are actuated, but some are passed on to future generations through the germ cells, remaining dormant until aroused and utilized by some later representative of the species or phylum. In course of time the possibility of development in some of these seems to be permanently inhibited; but what we call the more generalized forms have fewer inhibitions. Many are retained as vestigial characters and it is possible that, as noted above, even in that condition, they are of advantage to their possessor.

The most highly generalized organisms were in the main line of ascent to man; and the Incarnation was its final step. To the discerning mind this latter event will suggest an additional reason for the retention of potencies throughout the whole period of evolution.

We must not forget that every part of the procession

which we call evolution and history, and everything inorganic, organic, and human concerned in it, derived its meaning and had its origin from something in the Deity; or, as we more often say, by correspondence. This is the doctrine of correspondences, which from its supreme importance Swedenborg also calls "the science of sciences." I have dwelt upon it thus at length, because it is the peculiar gift which we have to make to the theology and science of our time, whatever our fate as a worshipping body. The value of that gift is as yet little appreciated; but what can one expect when those who pretend to think are concerned wholly with the spatial and temporal connections of purely material things which they quite uniformly mistake for cause and effect relations? No wonder that Swedenborg spoke of true causes being observed as if "through a glass darkly." Until the complexity of the principal cause is recognized, and a beginning has been made in the interpretation of the complexities of earth by the complexities in that principal cause, we shall have no theology in any way comparable with the sciences of our time, and neither the one nor the other will come into its own.

JOHN R. SWANTON, PH.D.

SWEDENBORG'S EARLY TRAVELS

By the Rev. Lewis F. Hite

AT Brunsbo, whither Swedenborg retired after his graduation at Upsala, the time seems to have hung heavily on his hands, and he chafed under the restraints of enforced idleness. Yet he was not altogether idle, for it was his cultivated disposition and habit to be always on the alert to improve himself and to make the most of his time. In this case, besides busying himself with plans for the future, he used his odd moments learning the art of bookbinding, and acquiring proficiency in playing the organ. In a letter to Benzelius, July 13, 1709, hardly more than a month from the time he left Upsala, he says of himself:

> During my stay here, I have made such progress as to acquire a manual art—the art of binding books—for we have a bookbinder with us. I have already displayed my skill upon two books, which I bound in half morocco.

In a succeeding letter some months later, he also says:

> I have little desire to remain here much longer; for I am wasting almost my whole time. Still, I have made such progress in music, that I have been able several times to take the place of our organist. But for all my other studies this place affords me very little opportunity; and they are not at all appreciated by those who ought to encourage me in them.

Swedenborg was now at the critical and uncomfortable stage when young men on leaving college face the wide world with its limitless possibilities, but feel no definite or urgent call to any one line of effort. It appears that a good deal of anxious thought and earnest conference had been going on between Swedenborg and his natural advisers, especially his father and his highly esteemed brother-in-law. No doubt his practically minded father, carrying the burden

of a good sized family and of various costly publication ventures, was much concerned to see his well equipped son at work engaged in some worthy remunerative employment, and making his own living. His brother-in-law was, perhaps, a little more generous, and sympathized with his protégé's ambition to pursue his studies, and advance his education. Two plans seem to have been discussed: one was, that he should take a few years for travel, and make wider acquaintance with men and books; the other was, to spend some time with Sweden's great mechanical engineer, Christopher Polhem. It seems that both his father and his brother-in-law wrote to Polhem, and made the proposal.

At that time Swedenborg evidently knew Polhem, at least by reputation, and had a high appreciation of his greatness as a mathematician and engineer. As Polhem played such large part in Swedenborg's early manhood and early education in mechanics, some sketch of his character and achievements seems to be called for at this point.

Christopher Polhem, the "great Swedish Archimedes," was born of Hungarian ancestors at Wisby in Gothland in 1661. His boyhood and young manhood were spent in the severe school of hard work to make a living. His father, a merchant, died when the son was not yet in his teens. After his father's death the boy went to live with an uncle in Stockholm, where he attended school until his twelfth year. But he was soon left to his own resources by the death of his uncle; and thereafter he made his living partly as a clerk on an estate, and partly as tax collector. He seems to have made use of his spare time in advancing his education; for by the time he was twenty-three, in spite of obvious difficulties, he had made a beginning in learning Latin. In his twenty-fifth year he entered the University of Upsala. While there his mechanical genius came into play. He restored the wonderful Cathedral clock, which showed the motion of the sun and moon; he also constructed some machines for raising ore from the mines. In 1694, when he was thirty-three years of age, and when Sweden-

borg was a boy of six, he went abroad. While abroad he constructed another wonderful clock, which the French court presented to the Sultan. He was also called by the Elector of Hanover to go into the Hartz mountains, and improve the machines for use in the mines. We are to see that, some years later, Swedenborg visited the Hartz mountains to make himself familiar with the best methods of mining. On his return to Sweden, Polhem was employed by the State to establish at Stjernsund in Darlecarlia a mechanical institution for making all kinds of machines. It was here that Swedenborg first became his assistant. In 1716 Charles XII employed Polhem, with Swedenborg as his assistant, to build the celebrated docks at Carlscrona; and the following year they began the construcion of the locks at Trolhätta and Wenersborg, and projected the famous Göta canal. At this time King Charles made Polhem Councillor of Commerce, and ennobled him. As usual in such cases, there was a change made in his name; in this case, from Polheimer to Polhem. His ancestors in Hungary were called von Polheim. He seems to have been a simple-hearted, industrious man, thoroughly devoted to his occupation and profession. He is one of those whose spiritual state is described by Swedenborg on the basis of their continued association in the spiritual world. Swedenborg often speaks of the difficulty people who pass into the spiritual world by death have in realizing that they are no longer in this world, but are living the life after death. Polhem seems to have been a case of the scientist who is so completely absorbed in his work and so habituated to scientific methods and ways of thinking that, like Charles Darwin, he loses all other interest, and all capacity to lift his mind above the natural level to an appreciation of spiritual life. He was also one of the few cases mentioned by Swedenborg of a man who, as it were, attended his own funeral; that is, looked on as a spirit while the funeral was in progress. The passage from the "Lesser Diary" on this point is worth quoting, as it embodies a principle often re-

ferred to by Swedenborg. In number 4752m of the "Lesser Diary," he says:

Polhem died on Monday. He spoke with me on Thursday; and as I attended the funeral, he saw his coffin, and those who were there, and the whole procession, also when his body was laid in the grave, conversing with me in the meantime, and asking why they buried him when he was yet alive, and why the priest said he should rise again at the Last Judgment, when he had already risen. He marvelled that such a belief should exist as that men would rise again at the Last Judgment, when yet he was already living, and that the body should rise, when he was sensible of being in the body.

Swedenborg in other places tells of how Polhem busied himself in the spiritual world with all kinds of mechanical devices, just as he had done in this world, and that his mind was completely materialized, so that he denied all spiritual reality, all Divine operation, and of course the existence of God. In other words, as the result of his mechanical preoccupations, he became hopelessly materialistic and atheistic.

It appears that while Swedenborg was waiting at Brunsbo, he actually did pay a visit to Polhem, and made a very favorable impression. In a letter written about this time to Benzelius, acknowledging the receipt of his communication and also one from Bishop Swedberg, both relative to taking Swedenborg into his house and under his tutelage, Polhem speaks in very complimentary terms as follows:

With regard to young Mr. Swedenborg, I must confess I was extremely well pleased that he came here, like others, of his own accord, and without first making any conditions; and as we were pleased and satisfied with one another, his desire could be satisfied without any difficulty; especially when I found him able to assist me in the mechanical undertaking which I have in mind, and in making the necessary experiments. In this matter I am more indebted to him than he is to me. Moreover, I value more highly a quick and intelligent person, with whom I can enjoy the discussion of subjects on which I possess some little knowledge, than I do a few weeks' board and lodging. But in addition to all this, I must confess that I scruple more and more to accept any payment for board and instruction, because I do not consider myself capable of giving all the satisfaction that may be desired and expected.

We gather several interesting items from this letter, which is dated July 16, 1710. In the first place it appears that Swedenborg sought the companionship and instruction of Polhem quite eagerly. In his letter to Benzelius, July 13, 1709, he writes:

> My greatest desire now is to obtain some information respecting the plan now being discussed here, of my staying with Polhammar. If my journey abroad must necessarily be delayed till next spring, I have no objection to being with him for some time; and as I can be there to greater advantage during summer than during winter, and as everything then is more bright and enjoyable, I am still less opposed to going.

It would seem, then, that he was with Polhem for several months during the spring and early summer of 1710.

The second item of the letter is that Swedenborg showed a ready competence in making experiments, and also in discussing the subjects which most interested Polhem. In short he gave complete satisfaction. Here we have proof of Swedenborg's mechanical and mathematical abilities and attainments.

We also gather that Swedenborg delayed his journey abroad for more than a year, and that a part of this time he spent in very profitable association with a mechanical genius of the first order.

But to return to the early days at Brunsbo, we see here the young man just out of college, bent upon advancing his education and pursuing his studies with systematic purpose. He was depending confidently upon his large-minded brother-in-law for advice. It seems that his father did not sympathize wholly with his son's educational ambitions, but was more interested in getting him to work in some practical and remunerative employment.

Swedenborg seems to have inherited his father's practical bent, and to have absorbed his ideas about making himself useful. The idea of preparing to make the most of himself appears constantly both in his practice and in his programs. The idea of complete preparation was a constant motive, and was systematically pursued, and pursued with unerring

judgment. In his college days he seems to have been strongly drawn to the study of mathematics and physics; and he must have made considerable progress in both of them; for now in setting out upon a higher and more advanced stage of preparation, he was planning a systematic and comprehensive course of scientific education, and his unerring instinct and judgment led him to select mathematics, which lies at the basis of all exact science in the field of physical phenomena. From the point of view of his educational program, it is really important to follow closely his early thought as expressed in the letter to Benzelius already mentioned. It is the earliest statement we have of his educational views and plans, and shows to advantage his youthful zeal and deliberate purpose. He addresses his brother-in-law as "Dear and honored friend and brother"; and after a polite apology for delay, he writes:

I am compelled to send you these lines because of some matters of importance to me; for relying on your usual kindness and on your friendly promise, I would humbly ask you to give me something in hand, that may assist me in taking my departure. And if you could add to this some letters to your acquaintances in England, or anything else that might be of use to me, I much wish you would do so. I do not intend to remain here longer than a fortnight—only long enough to receive your letter respecting my journey. I should very much like, by your recommendation, to become acquainted with some one in the English College (*in Collegio Anglicano*), where there are about twenty-one *assessores*, that I might improve myself in mathematics, or in physics and natural history, if these are their strongest points.

As I have always desired to turn to some practical use, and also to perfect myself in, the studies which I selected with your advice and approval, I thought it advisable to choose a subject early, which I might elaborate in the course of time, and into which I might introduce much of what I should notice and read in foreign countries. This course I have always pursued hitherto in my reading; and now at my departure, I propose to myself, as far as concerns mathematics, gradually to gather and work up a certain collection; viz., *of things discovered and things to be discovered in mathematics*, or, what is nearly the same thing, *the progress made in mathematics during the last two centuries*. This collection will include all branches of mathematics, and will be, I trust, of use to

me in my journeys, since I can introduce it into everything that I notice in mathematics. If you do not disapprove of this subject, I venture to expect much help and support from you in the treatment of it. I hope especially that, if you meet with anything in this department, you will make a note of it for me.

We see from this that Swedenborg and Benzelius had talked over the matter of the journey abroad, and that Benzelius had offered him generous assistance. Swedenborg appealed to him with the confidence of son to father; in fact he said in one of his letters: "I not only love you more than my own brothers, but I even love and revere you as a father."

Benzelius played such a large part in the early life of Swedenborg, and was so closely associated in his education and scientific progress, that we should pause to get somewhat better acquainted with his character and career. He was the son of Archbishop Ericus Benzelius, the elder, and was born January 27, 1675. As we have seen, he married Anna Swedberg, the eldest daughter of Bishop Swedberg, in 1703. He was then librarian of the University of Upsala; and he afterwards became professor of theology there. In the year 1726 he was made Bishop of Gottenberg; and in 1731, Bishop of Linköping. In 1742 he was appointed Archbishop of Upsala; but he died in 1743 before entering upon the office.

Benzelius was one of the learned men of Sweden. He was one of the founders of the Scientific Society of Upsala, and was president of the Royal Society of Stockholm in 1743. He kept up an extensive correspondence with men of learning abroad. His correspondence, which is preserved in the Cathedral Library of Linköping, fills eighteen folio volumes. This collection preserves fifty letters he received from Swedenborg from the year 1709 to 1726. To these letters we owe most of our knowledge of Swedenborg's life during this period. In particular they tell of his first trip abroad, and of his travels in England, France, Holland, and elsewhere, and give us some idea of his immense industry and application. Swedenborg writes of Benzelius in the

"Spiritual Diary"; he says he was interiorly good, but that his learning was merely a matter of memory, and he was outwardly proud and self-exalted. In the course of hard experience his exterior was gradually cast off, and he became like a child, and was admitted into the company of angels. He was always friendly and helpful to Swedenborg, and seems to have appreciated his character and abilities.

Returning to the letter, we note that Swedenborg is concerned about the acquaintances he is to make abroad, and especially to avail himself of the advantages offered by the English College in the pursuit of his studies in mathematics, and in physics and natural history. He has selected his studies with the advice and approval of Benzelius, and now he is making elaborate plans for the mastery of mathematics. He has always pursued the method of selecting a subject which he meant to elaborate in the course of time, and to bring into it what he observed and read. This he is now going to do with mathematics. He is going to collect and work up what has been discovered and what is yet to be discovered in mathematics; in other words he is going to make a thorough study of the history of mathematics, in all its branches, for the preceding two centuries, and to project its future. We shall see the meaning of this later, and what it led to. Into this body of preliminary studies he is going to introduce all he observes and learns in mathematics abroad.

In the next letter, dated March 6, 1710, he speaks of the delay that may keep him until the following spring, and also of the prospect of spending the approaching summer with Polhem. From this we see that he has been kept at home for nearly a year; and presumably he has all the while been busy with his studies according to the plans just mentioned. His stay with Polhem, as shown by the letter of July 16, 1710, must have been most congenial and profitable, immensely stimulating in the direction of mathematics and mechanics.

Swedenborg is now prepared to enter upon a new stage

of progress. His childhood, boyhood, and early youth have been well spent, and he is now beginning the first stage of his manhood. His father as early as May 22, 1709, before he was yet out of college, wrote to the King to ask permission for his son to "travel in foreign lands for the sake of his studies." The time had now come, and the well equipped young man of twenty-two, is to have some of his dreams realized. We are to follow for the next four years the fuller development of his manhood.

Up to this time Swedenborg had lived in his family circle, and had shared the atmosphere and the activities of the University. Through his university professors he had made contact with literature, history, and science, and had pursued certain lines of study under competent guidance. Now he was to enter the larger world, to see great cities, to make the acquaintance of great leaders in the field of knowledge, and was to pursue the paths of literature, history, and science under the inspiration and in the light of these great leaders. He was full of the spirit of adventure, and of invention and discovery. In the full flush of youth, he had boundless zeal, energy, and enthusiasm, with indefatigable observation and industry.

At last preparation and preliminaries were over, and he was ready to set out upon his journey. He procedeed to Gottenberg, and sailed for England. Fortunately, we have as an introduction to his diaries, a brief summary of this first journey abroad. It is well to give it in his own words, just as he wrote it down many years later under the date 1710.

I travelled to Gottenberg, and thence by ship to London. On the way to London, I was four times in danger of my life: (1) from a sandbank on the English coast in a dense fog, when all considered themselves lost, the keel of the vessel being within a quarter of a fathom of the bank; (2) from the crew of a privateer, who came on board, declaring themselves to be French, while they thought we were Danes; (3) from an English guard-ship on the following evening, which on the strength of a report mistook us in the dark for the privateer, wherefore it fired a whole broadside into us, but

without doing us any serious damage; (4) in London I was soon after exposed to a still greater danger, for some Swedes, who had approached our ship in a yacht, persuaded me to sail with them to town, when all on board had been commanded to remain there for six weeks, the news having already spread that the plague had broken out in Sweden. As I did not observe the quarantine, inquiry was made; yet I was saved from the halter, with the declaration, however, that no one who ventured to do this in future would escape his doom.

In London and Oxford, I spent over a year.

Thence I proceeded to Holland, and visited its principal towns. I spent a considerable time in Utrecht, during the session of the Congress, at which ambassadors from all parts of Europe were assembled.

From Holland I went to France, going by way of Brussels and Valenciennes to Paris. There and at Versailles I stayed nearly a year. From Paris I posted to Hamburg, passing through Ryssel or Lille. Thence I went to Pomerania and Greifswalde, where I remained a considerable time; and during my stay there, Charles XII came from Bender to Stralsund.

When the siege was about to commence, I succeeded under the Divine Providence in obtaining a passage home in a yacht, in company with Madame Feiff, after having been abroad for more than four years.

We are now to fill in this sketch with the details of his sight-seeing, his studies, and his acquaintances. During this stay abroad he wrote four letters to Benzelius; and it is from these letters that we get our information. We have no record of the exact date of his departure from home; but his first letter, October 13, 1710, after his arrival in London, shows some delay in writing, and we may suppose that he left home sometime in September. He refers to a journey to Polhem, "the Machaon of our time," which he must postpone; but he is by no means indifferent to the prospect of benefitting by the teaching of "so great a man" and, as he expresses it, "one such as our country will never see again." He is prompt to add: : : "This Island, however, has men of the greatest experience in the science; but these I have not yet consulted, because I am not yet sufficiently acquainted with their language." The science here referred to was probably mathematics and mechanics, the science in

which Polhem excelled. He then goes on to tell how he employs his time.

> I study Newton daily, and am very anxious to see and hear him. I have provided myself with a small stock of books for the study of mathematics, and also with a certain number of instruments, which are both a help and an ornament in the study of science: such as, an astronomical tube, quadrants of several kinds, prisms, microscopes, artificial scales, and *camerae obscurae,* by William Hunt and Thomas Everard, which I admire, and which you too will admire. I hope that after settling my accounts, I may have sufficient money left to purchase an air pump.

This gives us a good first glimpse of his life in London. The thing of most interest and importance is his assiduous study of Newton.

Newton at that time was at the height of his fame. He was president of the Royal Society. He had represented his University in Parliament. He graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1665, and took the degree of M.A. in 1667. He succeeded Isaac Barrow in the Lucasian professorship of mathematics in 1669. He held this position until 1699, when he was appointed Master of the Mint. During this period of thirty years he delivered his epoch-making lectures on optics; these were first published in 1704. In the meantime he became interested in the subject of motion, and wrote a treatise on it. This led to the writing of his "Principia," which was published in 1687. Newton was also interested in theology and in Bible studies. He wrote on chronology, and on prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse; also a Church History and a History of Creation; but all these were published after his death, which took place in 1727.

At the time of Swedenborg's stay in London and Oxford, 1710-12, Newton was preoccupied with his duties as Master of the Mint; but he also presided at the meetings of the Royal Society, and Swedenborg could have seen and heard him on such occasions. As a matter of fact he makes no mention of seeing or hearing Newton. In all probability he studied Newton's "Optics" and "Principia." He makes

several references to the "Principia," which show close study. It seems that it was his study of Newton that directed his attention to the problem of finding the terrestrial longitude by means of the positions of the moon. He says:

> Newton has laid a good foundation for correcting the irregularities of the moon in his "Principia"; he has, however, not yet published the tables, but simply the theory; he has also corrected in it the procession of the equinoxes, and the periods of the tides.

Swedenborg busied himself with the problem of finding the terrestrial longitude off and on for many years; apparently it was his first piece of independent investigation. What he says of his "stock of books for the study of mathematics," and of acquiring scientific instruments, shows how well equipped he was making himself for the pursuit of his studies. He was evidently studying mathematics thoroughly, both in its historical and in its scientific aspect, and was making the most of the opportunity to master the mathematics and physics of Newton.

Swedenborg is often misrepresented as lacking sentiment and emotion; but such a lack would have been unaccountable in the son of his father, and moreover it is positively inconsistent with the record. Even in his old age, when he was writing expositions of the Bible and of religious life, he gave expression to fine sentiment and strong emotion. It would be hard to find a more forcible expression of emotion, and of indignation at the violation of religious feeling and sentiment, than is contained in the passage in "Apocalypse Revealed," n. 753, which begins "What is more detestable than to separate the body and blood of the Lord, or the bread and wine, in the Holy Supper," and ends as follows:

> What is more detestable than to transfer all the Lord's Divine Power to themselves, which is nothing else than to pull down the Lord from His throne and put themselves thereon. What is more detestable than to take away the Word, which is the Divine Truth itself, from the laity and the common people, and to issue edicts and

dogmas in its place, in which there is scarce a single genuine truth of the Word.

Sentiment and emotion of a very different kind are warmly expressed in his account of his visit to the tomb of Casaubon. He is telling of seeing the sights of London; evidently he lost no time in making himself acquainted with the city. The whole passage is worth quoting. He says:

Whatever is worthy of being seen in the town, I have already examined. The magnificent St. Paul's Cathedral was finished a few days ago in all its parts. In examining the royal monuments in Westminster Abbey, I happened to see the tomb of Casaubon, when I was inspired with such a love for this literary hero, that I kissed his tomb and dedicated to his manes, under the marble, the following stanzas:

Marmore cur ornas tumulum, cur carmine et auro;
cum tamen hæc pereant, Tuque superstes eris.
At puto sponte sua celebrant Te marmor et aurum;
Oscula quod marmor prætereuntis amet.

Why dost thou adorn the tomb with marble, why with song and gold;
When yet these will perish, and thou wilt survive.
But, methinks, of their own will the marble and the gold praise thee;
For the kisses of the passers-by doth the marble love.

Or else these:

Urna Tuos cineres, animum sed Numen et Astra,
Scripta Tuum ingenium, Nomen at orbis habet;
Has licet in partes Te mors distraxerit, ipse
Attamen in nostro pectore totus eris.

The urn holds Thy ashes, Divinity and the stars Thy spirit,
Thy writings contain Thy genius, but the world Thy fame.
Let death dissolve Thee into these ashes,
Thou shalt be for our hearts forever whole.

This is not the manner or the language of a cold-blooded mathematician or a machine-like physicist. It is really an ode to immortal literature, and to the spirit of the classics.

While engaged in severe study and in collecting mathematical instruments for observation and experiment, Swedenborg was constantly on the lookout for books, and for

apparatus which would be serviceable for his country, and especially for his university. Very soon he was in correspondence with the university authorities about the things he was recommending, and the things which they needed. He offered to procure for them a twenty-four foot telescope with the suitable glasses, a microscope, a brass quadrant, an air pump with all the apparatus belonging to it, and globes. He was at great pains to get the best that were made, and to learn all that it was needful to know about them. The microscope proved too expensive for his means. It was a new model, and he was much interested to tell how it enabled one to "see the blood in fishes flowing swiftly, like small rivulets." This seems to have been his first experiment in anatomy and physiology, a line of investigation in which he was to excel and to make numerous discoveries. His proposals and suggestions were submitted to the Literary Society of Upsala; and Professor Elfvius, the astronomer, was instructed to correspond with Swedenborg about books and instruments. We have the letter of Professor Elfvius in which he asks various questions, among which is this: "What do the learned mathematicians think about Newton's theory of the motion of the planets; inasmuch as it seems to be a pure abstraction without any physical basis, viz., how one planetary body could gravitate towards another, etc., which seems to be an absurdity." This is really a very searching question, and one which has never been answered. We have some very definite knowledge about the laws of planetary motion, but we seem to be as far as ever from knowing why they move at all; and certainly there is no direct evidence that they are all moving towards each other, although on the principle of the parallelogram of forces we may suppose that they do. Professor Elfvius also asks about the number which Flamsteed adopts for the greatest obliquity of the eclipses, and about the tables of the moon's motions. The questions are interesting as showing the problems which the astronomers

of the day were working at, problems which Swedenborg himself was soon to take up systematically.

Instruments, instrument makers, and scientific apparatus in general, were matters of special interest and investigation with Swedenborg at this time; but he did not stop with learning about them and recommending the best of them to the authorities of his university and his government; he went to work actually to acquire the art of instrument making in lines which were most directly connected with his studies and with his efforts to make himself useful to his country and its institutions. His spirit and zeal are well expressed in the following paragraph of a letter to Benzelius. He says:

> You encourage me to go on with my studies; but I think I ought rather to be discouraged, as I have such an "immoderate desire" for them, especially for astronomy and mechanics. I also turn my lodgings to some use, and change them often. At first I was at a watchmaker's, afterwards at a cabinetmaker's, and now I am at a mathematical instrument maker's; from them I steal their trades, which some day will be of use to me.

Returning to this subject in a letter six months afterwards, and speaking of terrestrial globes for which he proposes to make engravings, he writes:

> I have already perfected myself so much in the art of engraving that I consider myself master of it. A specimen of my art I enclose in my father's letter; this illustrates some of my inventions, was the first thing I took in hand. If I were in Sweden, I should not need to apply to anyone to make the meridians for the globes, and its other appurtenances.

This practice and training prepared him for making the beautiful diagrams which adorn his scientific works.

Swedenborg's studies at this time centered about astronomy and mathematics. He was perhaps most directly interested in mechanics, but he proposed to get the complete mathematical equipment needed to master the science of mechanics. His studies of Newton probably helped him to appreciate astronomy as the special field for the application of mathematics and mechanics. He speaks, as we have

seen, of providing himself with books and instruments for the study of mathematics. We gather from various references to these studies that his purpose and plan was nothing short of an advanced liberal education in these subjects, which should take in physics and natural history, and include both the historical and scientific aspects. We get a glimpse of his work in astronomy and mathematics from the following:

> With regard to astronomy, I have made such progress in it, as to have discovered much which I think will be useful in its study. Although in the beginning, it made my brain ache, yet long speculations are now no longer difficult for me. I have examined closely all the proposals for finding the terrestrial longitude, but could not find a single one. I have therefore originated a method by means of the moon, which is unerring, and I am certain that it is the best which has yet been advanced. In a short time I will inform the Royal Society that I have a proposition to make on this subject, stating my points. If it is favorably received by these gentlemen, I shall publish it here; if not, in France. I have also discovered many new methods for observing the planets, the moon, and the stars. That which concerns the moon and its parallaxes, diameter, and inequality, I will publish whenever opportunity arises. I am now working my way through algebra and the higher geometry, and I intend to make such progress in it as to be able in time to continue Polhammar's discoveries.

There are several points here which attract attention, and which give us a vivid impression of his state of mind at that time, and of his tireless efforts in the pursuit of knowledge. Evidently he was doing more severe study than he had been accustomed to, so that it made his brain ache; but he soon passed through his preliminary stage of discipline, and acquired the training to do hard work with ease. He speaks of making discoveries, of which we shall hear more. He was originating new scientific methods; in particular, methods for determining the terrestrial longitude, for observing the planets, the moon, and the stars, especially the diameter, parallaxes, and inequality of the moon. In other words, he was making a specialty of astronomy, beginning with the solar system, and extending his investigations to

the stars beyond. He was also getting ready to publish his results. In his eager pursuit of new methods and discoveries, it is significant to note that he was not neglecting the mathematical bases of his work. "I am now busy working my way through algebra and the higher geometry," he says. In all probability, he studied Euclid at the university; and now he was doubtless mastering the algebra and geometry of Newton's "Principia." He mentions among the books which the library of his university ought to have, Isaac Newton's "Series, Fluxions, and Differentials, with an Enumeration of the Lines of the Third Order," and "Arithmetical Computations for the Use of the University at Cambridge." These, then, were among the books he was mastering. He was working his way through the algebra and geometry of Newton's "Differential Calculus," the most advanced step in mathematics of his day.

The severe and prolonged study seems to have made inroads upon Swedenborg's spirits, and perhaps to some extent his health. At any rate we find him like a sensible man, thoroughly master of himself, turning aside for the moment to literature for recreation. After nearly two years of apparently unremitting labor, he writes, August 15, 1712:

> As my speculations made me for a time not so sociable as is serviceable and useful for me, and as my spirits are somewhat exhausted, I have taken refuge for a short time in the study of poetry, that I might be somewhat recreated by it. I intend to gain a little reputation by this study, on some occasion or other during this year, and I hope I may have advanced in it as much as may be expected from me—but time and others will perhaps judge of this. Still, after a time, I intend to take up mathematics again, although, at present, I am doing nothing in them; and if I am encouraged, I intend to make more discoveries in them than any one else in the present age; but without encouragement this would be sheer trouble, and it would be like *non profecturis litora bubus arare*—ploughing the ground with stubborn steers.

This passage is interesting and important not merely as showing that Swedenborg had a taste for literature as

well as for science, but also for the glimpse it gives us of an unexpected and rather startling phase of his character. It shows in the first place what may be called an inordinate ambition to excel others, "to make more discoveries in mathematics than any one else" of his time; and in the second place it suggests that he was working for fame, not merely for pure science and pure truth's sake. It shows that what he called in his enlightened period the "merely natural man" was at this time very strong and fully developed in him. It helps us to see that when he in later years spoke of the quality of the natural man, he was speaking from a deep and full experience. It also helps us to realize the great distance between this phase of his character and the utter unselfishness which he attained by absolute self-surrender to the Lord's will. We should, however, not exaggerate the glimpse we have here of this phase of worldliness in his character; but should give full weight to his evident love of being useful, especially to his country and to his *alma mater*. We must also appreciate all the evidences of his love of science and truth for their own sakes.

He was evidently thinking more and more of getting his results, his new methods, and his discoveries, before the scientific world. He speaks of bringing before the Royal Society his new method of finding the longitude by means of the moon's positions. This, of course, would have brought him face to face with Newton, who as President of the Society would have had the opportunity to pass upon it. As a matter of fact, he published nothing at this stage; and it does not appear that he was ever presented to the Royal Society.

He was, however, not idle in making the acquaintance of men and books. In addition to having a sharp eye on the doings of the Royal Society, he was constantly busy looking up and collecting the best books he could find on a variety of subjects, such as he thought would be valuable for the higher education of his countrymen. We get a good idea

of this interest and activity from a letter written April 30, 1711, after he had been in London about six months. He writes:

The books you asked me to get for you, I have enquired for at all the bookshops, and also at book-auctions; but some I have not succeeded in finding. Vol. I of *Cotelerii Ecclesiæ Graecæ Monumenta*, I found at a bookseller's in Paternoster Row; but I had to pay for it almost the value of the whole work. I purchased the old edition of Norris' "Reflections upon the Conduct of Human Life," since nothing has appeared separately, but only together with his other works, i.e., his "Christian Blessedness," "Christian Monitor," "Dialogue between Two Protestants," "Poetic Miscellany," etc., the whole of which may be bought for twenty or twenty-four shillings. I read his little book through, and found it very clever and ingenious; but he seemed to me to take too many roundabout ways, and not to touch upon the subject he was to treat, keeping one always in suspense, and wondering where he would end, and at what he would arrive. Bacon's "Reflections upon Learning" I have read twice, finding him my first delight; but I wonder why he does not approve of anything, but considers everything that has been discovered and written imperfect and unworthy of his esteem; and, unless this has been the author's object, it may be used against him, for his own refutation; for he must include his own work among the number.

From this we get the idea of painstaking industry. We also observe that he was an attentive and critical reader, and we see how his interest was aroused by glimpses of the field of learning.

Writing nine months later, January, 1712, about the books that ought to be in the university library, he says:

If the following books are not in the library, I think you ought to get them. Wilkins' mathematical works; his writings are very clever. Isaac Newton's "Series, Fluxions, and Differentials, with an Enumeration of the Lines of the Third Order," which is a book about a finger in thickness, and expensive, costing twelve shillings. The same author on "Arithmetical Computations for the use of the University at Cambridge," 1707. Ditton's "Institution of Fluxions." There are also eminent English poets, that are well worth reading for the sake of their imagination alone, such as Dryden, Spencer, Waller, Milton, Cowley, Beaumont and Fletcher, Shakespeare, Ben Johnson, Oldham, Bentham, Philip, Smith and others.

This list shows, beside his acquaintance with books on mathematics, and his special interest in Differential Calculus, that he had a good knowledge of English literature.

In the same letter, he speaks of Flamsteed's books, and goes on to say:

> I have also been asked about Flamsteed's publications. They are as follows: "The Posthumous Works of Horroxius," together with a little about the eclipses of the sun, how they may be marked down, so that they may be computed in full; he has also published in folio his observations during fifteen years, but they cannot be obtained. He told me also that he had in the press "The Heavenly Constellations as they are found in Hipparchus, but corrected and amended."

Swedenborg's acquaintance with Flamsteed was one of the most stimulating and helpful of the influences that affected him during his stay abroad.

Some of the books Swedenborg refers to suggest that even at this early day he was at home in what we now call "higher criticism," and that he was keenly alert as to what was going on in the field of religious scholarship and controversy. This was quite natural and inevitable, in view of the religious atmosphere and the religious controversies of his father's household. Nevertheless we are taken rather by surprise to find him turning aside from his preoccupation in the study of mathematics and his search for books on science to mention Bible codices and an edition of the *Septuagint*. The closing paragraph of his letter of April 30, 1711, after he had been in London about six months, is as follows:

> Grabe's *Septuagint* has just been published; but I have only seen it in octavo, together with a small pamphlet in quarto upon the Alexandrian codex. He was here for some time; but he had to change his lodgings every week, he was so overrun by visitors. Ephraim Syrius is very well published in folio, at Oxford. They have issued a book of all their poets in two volumes; likewise a universal index. I have much to tell about events among the learned, but I have neither time nor paper. In my next I will give you an account of what I have read of the doings of the learned. I asked Count Gyllenborg about your books. He said he received

your letter, but not the books; they are detained in the custom house until the duty be paid; it is a great chance if I hear anything about them. The *Vitis Aquilonia* is a catholic and superstitious book, which by an act of Parliament, in the third year of William and Mary's reign, was forbidden to be introduced into the country. If it were another book, I should try to get it for you, for then it would be free.

This paragraph seems to be a rather brief reference to books on religious subjects which attracted his attention, and which he thought his brother-in-law, as librarian of the university, would be interested to know about. John Ernest Grabe was a distinguished English scholar in the field of Church History. He was born 1666, and died November 3, 1711. Besides his works on Church History, he published an edition of the *Septuagint,* which was based upon the Alexandrian Codex. Swedenborg's reference, though brief, shows that he appreciated the importance of such publications. Ephraim Syrius was an important and prolific author in the earlier and formative period of the Christian Church, about 350 A.D. He was a Syrian and wrote in Syriac. Besides commentaries on the Bible and much controversial matter, he wrote a large number of hymns. His commentaries on the Gospels are of special importance because of the connection with Tatian's *Diatesseron,* or Harmony of the Gospels. The fact seems to be that a mediæval monk had in his possession a copy of the manuscript of Tatian's *Diatesseron.* He rubbed out the writing, and wrote over it a copy of Ephraim's commentary. By suitable processes, the original was brought out into clearness. In this way a very old manuscript has been restored to us. Swedenborg was interested to note that a folio edition of Ephraim Syrius was published at Oxford about that time. He also notes that the Oxford authorities had issued a book of all their poets in two volumes, with a universal index. We must bear in mind this evidence of interest in the events of the religious world, and note occasional recurrences to the subject. He pauses significantly to remark: "I have much to tell about events among the learned, but I have neither

time nor paper. In my next, I will give you an account of what I have read of the doings of the learned." We are curious to know whether that letter was ever written, and what were its contents. It would doubtless tell us much that we want to know about Swedenborg's studies, reading, and personal acquaintances, at this time of his youthful labors.

The book "*Vitis Aquilonia,*" or "Lives of the Swedish Saints," was one which Benzelius had had reprinted, and which he wanted to send to England for distribution. Swedenborg apologizes for his implied condemnation of the book, and goes on to justify his criticism in a vigorous and independent style. It appears that Wastovius, the author, was a Swedish Catholic, and wrote the book in Warsaw, where he was court-chaplain to King Sigismund. Swedenborg is willing to learn more about him, but he holds to his position. The passage is worth quoting:

> With regard to Wastovius, I shall ask Bishop More about him; but he has been out of town for some time on visitation. I hope you will not be displeased at my having called him superstitious, for this can no more detract from his usefulness in eccleiastical matters, than if I had called Vergil a heathen. This proposition, however, cannot I think be controverted: "All Catholics are worshipers of saints and of the Pope, and all worshipers of saints are superstitious." Religion cannot diminish the fame of any one in historical matters.

The point Swedenborg makes here shows discrimination and mature judgment. He has learned the lesson that a man's status in one field should not prejudice his work in another. A man may be superstitious in his personal beliefs and in his view of history, and at the same time a very useful man in church affairs; so he may be a heathen and still a great poet. This liberality and independence of thought, Swedenborg displayed throughout his career, in the works of the "Principia" group, and of the "Animal Kingdom" group, as well as in his psychological and religious works. This is the first indication we have of his attitude towards the Catholics, an attitude which grew more definite and

more emphatic as he progressed in enlightenment; it was aimed at a weak spot in Catholic character. Catholics are superstitious; this is undeniable. For "all Catholics are worshipers of saints and of the Pope, and all worshipers of saints are superstitious." Nevertheless a Catholic may be a good historian, and the book under consideration was a history. The fact that this was a Catholic and a superstitious book did not of itself condemn it; "Religion," he insists, "cannot diminish the fame of any one in historical matters."

Swedenborg is now approaching the end of his stay in England. He has devoted about two years to unremitting labor and study over a wide range of subjects. He has rounded out, deepened, and advanced his education by acquaintance with men, books, and events. In particular, he has made himself at home in the field of mathematics and mechanics; and under the lead of England's two great astronomers, Flamsteed and Halley, he has made himself familiar with the recent problems and the recent advances of the astronomy of that time. He was a tireless and a close observer; no object was too large or too small to escape his attention. In short, he made rapid progress in becoming a well equipped scholar and scientist.

We get a final glimpse of his activities from a closing paragraph of his letter of August 15, 1712, written just before his departure for France. In this letter Swedenborg seems to have tried his hand in English, as a large part of it was written in English. He is telling Benzelius about some important books, and writes:

There is a large quantity of books worth buying: Harris's "Lexicon of the Sciences and Arts," in which there is also contained much mathematics. "Philosophical Transactions" and collections from the year 1705, by John Lowth, which will cost fifty shillings; it was recommended to me by Dr. Woodward, because it contains what has been transacted in the Royal Society, and because the information which is scattered through the "Philosophical Transactions" is here reduced into order. I read it through; it is a great pity it is not translated into Latin. The "Memoirs of Literature," which treats of the history of literature, in folio;

besides several other books which I cannot think have escaped your knowledge. Within three or four months, I hope, with God's help, to be in France; for I greatly desire to understand its fashionable and useful language. I hope by that time to have, or to find there, letters from you to some of your learned correspondents, especially Abbé Bignon, whose acquaintance I much desire to make, and which I shall have no difficulty in making by means of a letter from you.

We are interested to note here that he was ever busy to get a knowledge of the important books, and to recommend them to Benzelius for his library. He frequented book stores, and consulted libraries, and must have acquired a competent knowledge of the best books of the day. His reference to the "Lexicon of the Sciences and Arts" and the "Philosophical Transactions" gives us a hint of his reading in the history of the sciences and in philosophy.

He was now, after two years study in England, ready to set out for France. He writes: "I am ready to start on my journey, and am delaying only that I may have an opportunity of procuring the friendship of the learned by your welcome presents."

He has his troubles, and is frequently thwarted in carrying out his plans and ideas by the lack of money, and now and then complains of it. He writes confidentially to his brother-in-law:

Your great kindness, and your favor, of which I have had so many proofs, make me believe that your advice and your letters will induce my father to be so favorable towards me, as to send me the funds which are necessary for a young man, and which will infuse into me a new spirit for the prosecution of my studies. Believe me, I desire and strive to be an honor to my father's house and yours, much more strongly than you yourself can wish or endeavor.

Swedenborg went first to Holland, where he spent several months; but we have no detailed account of what he did there, except that he took advantage of opportunities to visit and get acquainted with distinguished men. The next full account tells of his doings in France.

In going from London to Paris, Swedenborg went by

way of Holland and Belgium. During his stay in Utrecht, he was frequently entertained by Johan Palmquist, with whom he discussed algebraical questions. At Leyden he was much impressed with the observatory and the costly brass quadrant. He fully made up his mind to return to Leyden the next year, to take observations for himself. At Leyden he also learned glass-grinding, and acquired all the instruments needed for it.

His own account is characteristic, and gives a good idea of the things that were uppermost in his mind, and also of the impression he made on men of position. His own words are:

> During my stay in Holland, I was most of the time at Utrecht, where the Diet met, and where I was in great favor with Ambassador Palmquist, who had me every day at his house; every day also I had discussions on algebra with him. He is a good mathematician, and a great algebraist. He wished me not to go away; and therefore I intend next year to return to Leyden, where they have a splendid observatory, and the finest brass quadrant that I have ever seen; it cost 2000 new guilders. They are continually making new observations. I will ask permission of the university to take observations there for two or three months, which I shall easily obtain; Palmquist did the same.

We see from this that he was still bent upon pursuing mathematics and astronomy, and was eager to make observations for himself. And he was ever ready to seize every opportunity to add to his stock of mechanical arts. It was his disposition and habit, as well as a matter of principle with him, to combine theory with practice.

Palmquist was a man of distinction, a statesman who filled many important positions of state in his own country and abroad. At this time he was Swedish Ambassador at the Hague; previously he was Minister to France. He was High Chancellor of Sweden in 1714, and died in 1716. He evidently had a high opinion of Swedenborg's attainments in mathematics, and took pains to cultivate the acquaintance of this mere youth of twenty-five while he was probably a man of sixty.

Once in Paris, Swedenborg made the most of his opportunities to see the learned men of the place, and to make known his investigations; but a six weeks' spell of sickness delayed him for that period. As usual, he frequented the book shops and the libraries. He also enjoyed looking up and meeting the friends of his brother-in-law, Benzelius, and found great satisfaction in their affection and esteem for him. He makes special note of three men whom he admired as the most eminent in their respective fields, Abbé Bignon, Philippe de Lahire, Warrignon. Abbé Bignon was a famous pulpit orator and a man of great learning. He was a member of the French Academy, the Academy of Sciences, and other learned societies; and he became Royal Librarian.

Philippe de Lahaire was perhaps the most learned man in France of his day. He was born in 1640, and died in 1719. So he was seventy-two when Swedenborg knew him. De Lahire was an eminent mathematician and astronomer. He was professor of mathematics in the Royal College of France, and also professor of architecture. He made a special study of conic sections, and his work in this field gained him membership in the French Academy of Sciences. He published astronomical tables, which were translated into all the languages of Europe; he also worked at the problem of establishing the meridian. In all these matters Swedenborg was deeply interested. He doubtless advanced his knowledge of conic sections by the study of Lahire's work, but apparently he did not see much of him personally; as he speaks only once of visiting him.

He did, however, see Warrignon frequently. Warrignon was an advanced mathematician, especially in geometry and algebra. Swedenborg thought he was the greatest geometrician and algebraist in Paris, and perhaps the greatest in Europe. Warrignon was born in 1654, and died in 1722. He wrote an essay on a new mechanics, which brought him fame, and earned for him the professorship of mathematics in the Collège Mazarin. He lectured frequently before the

French Academy, and was one of the first in France to appreciate differential and integral calculus. In 1704, he succeeded Duhamel in the chair of philosophy in the Collège de France. Besides being a member of the French Academy, he was a member of the Royal Society of England, and of the Academy of Berlin. Swedenborg's interest in the study of calculus must have been greatly stimulated by his frequent converse with Warrignon.

We have no definite statements in detail as to how Swedenborg employed his time during the year's stay in Paris. But his contact with these three eminent men, and a knowledge of their works, must have urged him on to special lines of investigation and study, especially in higher mathematics. His main purpose in going to Paris was, as he says, to perfect himself in mathematics. So we may safely conclude that he labored constantly in that field. He speaks of three inventions which he submitted to Abbé Bignon and Warrignon. Two of them were new algebraical methods; the third was his newly invented method of finding the longitude on land or sea by lunar observations. He was much dissatisfied, and no doubt disappointed, at the reception of his new ideas by the English scientists. This feeling he expressed with directness and force in connection with one of his visits with Halley. The passage gives us a glimpse of his estimate of the English character. A short time before he left London for Paris, he wrote:

> But as I have not, here in England, among this civil and proud people, met with great encouragement, I have laid it aside for some other place. When I tell them I have some project about longitude, they treat it as an impossibility, and therefore I do not wish to discuss it here. Let what I enclose be submitted to some mathematicians; perhaps it might be sent to a French mathematician, e.g., Abbé Bignon, that he may pass judgment on it.

We get a good idea of what he did in Paris, and a record of some of his characteristic observations, from his letter to Benzelius, written August, 1713. In large part, it is as follows:

Most honored friend and brother:

Since my last letter, which I sent you from Holland by the mail packet, I have not had the honor of paying you my respects; I am sorry it has been so long. After that time, I left Holland, intending to make greater progress in mathematics, and also to finish all I had designed in that science. Since my arrival here, I have been hindered in my work by an illness which lasted six weeks, and which interfered with my studies and other useful operations; but I have at last recovered, and am beginning to make the acquaintance of the most learned men in this place. I have called upon and made the acquaintance of de Lahire, who is now a great astronomer, and who was formerly a well known geometrician. I have also been frequently with Warrignon, who is the greatest geometrician and algebraist in this town, and perhaps the greatest in Europe. About eight days ago, I called on Abbé Bignon, and presented your compliments, on the strength of which I was very favorably received by him. I submitted to him for examination, and for introduction into the Society, three discoveries, two of which were in algebra. In the first invention, I showed that by means of algebraical analysis a great many useful problems could be solved, which it was impossible to do by the usual method; this I proved by more than a hundred examples. In the second invention, a new method of treating algebra is presented, in which the unknown quantity is obtained, not by an equation, but in a shorter and more natural way by means of geometrical and arithmetical proportions. The third invention was about finding the terrestrial longitude. Under this title, there are given the outlines of a certain most easy, and, if respect is had to the signs (*si signa spectes*), of a true and genuine method of finding the terrestrial longitude both by land and by sea. These three discoveries I have followed out to some extent; but in my specimens I gave only a sketch of them, and did not add many proofs. Abbé Bignon at once gave me a letter to Warrignon, desiring that he should examine them, because I was a relation of Mons. Benzelius, with whom he said he was *en liaison intimé* (intimately attached)—these are his own words. I was today for two hours at Warrignon's, during which I submitted my papers to him. I intend to have them printed, that I may communicate them more easily to the learned. They will not exceed three sheets. Moreover, there is another man in England, by the name of Whiston, who has given out that he has discovered the longitude; for this reason I wish to make haste with mine. This man has written on astronomy, but has never before invented anything. Here in town, I avoid conversation with Swedes, and shun all those by whom I might be interrupted in my studies.

What I hear from the learned, I note down at once in my

journal; it would be too long to copy it out, and to communicate it to you. Between the mathematicians here and the English there is great emulation and jealousy. Halley of Oxford told me that he was the first who had examined the variation of the pendulum under the equator; they keep silence about this here. The astronomers also maintain that Cassini's paper was written before Halley made his expedition to the Island of St. Helena, and so forth.

It is seldom that mathematical works are published here; and if you come a few months after, they are not to be had. All mathematicians take their papers to the *Diaria publica Academiae Scientiarum* (the Journal of the Academy of Sciences), and do not trouble themselves further about publishing and keeping a copy of them. I find in the bookshops in this country a much smaller number of mathematical works for sale than in England and Holland. I have also been a good deal in the libraries, with the exception of the Royal Library. I ordered Brander in England to send the microscope which was written for, to Sweden for the Library. It will probably cost from three to four pounds. It will be forwarded to you by some opportunity. . . .

Whatever I am able to gather from the conversation of the learned respecting the progress of literature and mathematics, I will always report to you whenever I have the opportunity.

Rest assured that I entertain the greatest friendship and veneration for you. I hope, therefore, that you will not be displeased with me on account of my silence, and my delay in writing letters, if you hear that I am always intent on my studies, so that I sometimes omit more important matters.

Farewell.

Yours most faithfully, even to death,

EMAN. SWEDBERG.

This letter shows that the year he spent in Paris was one of hard work, deliberately planned, and pursued systematically. He mentions literature, libraries, bookshops, knowledge of the learned and their works. These suggest his varied activities and his interests. But he concentrates his attention and labor upon mathematics, in the form of higher algebra and geometry, especially conic sections and calculus. It is significant that this study of conic sections brought fruit in his exposition of the properties of the spiral, so admirably developed in his "Principia." He was full of the idea of inventions, and was ever striving to carry his studies

forward to new developments. He speaks of intending to finish all he had designed in mathematics. This may refer to his inventions, or it may have reference to his plan for making a complete survey of mathematics, and of mastering this science in all its branches and stages. As an example of how meager the record is, he tells us of submitting his inventions to Warrignon and of seeing him frequently, but does not say anything about discussing the inventions, nor of discussing any special topic. He does tell us that what he heard from the learned, he noted down at once in his "journal." If we only had this journal, it would be just what we want to follow him step by step in his progress; and learn just what he did in his various lines of study and reading. It seems that it was the use of learning, rather than its possession, that he thought most important. This appears in his reference to Whiston. William Whiston was a brilliant and versatile, but erratic, man, who precipitated many warm controversies in religion as well as in science. His mathematical attainments were recognized by his appointment to succeed Newton in the Lucasian Chair of Mathematics at Cambridge. He claimed to have discovered a method of finding the longitude. Swedenborg remarks that he wrote on astronomy, but had not invented anything, —as much as to say that a mathematician who had never invented anything falls short of the full stature of a scientific man.

Swedenborg is now approaching the end of his preparatory labors,—what may be fitly called his postgraduate studies. For three years he has devoted his best energies to systematic and concentrated study, under the lead of the greatest teachers of his day, and with the help of the best books obtainable. He had a good education up to twenty-one; this is now supplemented by an advanced education in a freer and wider field. He has attained a high degree of competence in history, literature, and science. He is rounding out his twenty-fifth year with the completion of his career as a mere student, and is now about to enter upon the

new stage of scientific productivity, adding to his inventions and publishing his results.

Just before leaving Paris, he went the rounds of sight-seeing; previously he had been giving his entire time to study. He writes:

> At the close of my stay in Paris, I made a general tour all over the city in company with several others, that I might see what was to be seen. I took my companions also to those of your friends whom you were kind enough to name to me, and they showed us every politeness for your sake; you have left among them an uncommon esteem and affection. As soon as Father le Quien heard your name, he did not know what books to show us first in his library, and what service he could offer us, who were acquainted with you.
>
> With Father le Long, also, who has a history of literature in hand, it was the same. It would be a heartfelt delight to them, and it is a strong wish of theirs, that you may once more have the opportunity of being with them.

Here are some fine touches. Swedenborg's affectionate interest in all that concerned his much esteemed brother-in-law, and his proud satisfaction in the tokens of friendship he found among the great, reveals polite sentiments and warmth of feeling which we are apt to overlook when we are following his scientific career and his religious expositions. We also see the social side of his nature, which was happily cultivated all through his long life. We note, too, that he must have put off sight-seeing, not from indifference, but from intense preoccupation with his studies.

It heightens our appreciation of Benzelius, and so far justifies Swedenborg's affectionate admiration of him, to know how highly he was esteemed by his friends and correspondents of position and attainments.

Before leaving this stage of Swedenborg's educational career, we remark that, although we have some definite statements about men, books, and studies, the record is disappointingly meager. We are well assured that he was a man of well-rounded education; but aside from mathematics we know only that he devoted some time to the English classics, that he read histories, especially histories of

science, that he was interested in current events, and that he was diligent in acquiring a knowledge of men and books. But he mentions only a few men, and comparatively few books. So that we are left too much to inference as to just what his studies were, and how far he pursued them. We do know that he had a comprehensive plan, and that he spent these three years working hard with trained powers and with intelligent aims. We learn little of his social life, and little of his recreations. We may assume that he became well acquainted with London and Oxford, as we know he made a point of seeing the sights of Paris. The most definite picture we get is, that of an industrious student, determined to make the most of his opportunities to explore the field of knowledge and to make himself at home in it.

But there is another side of his character which is revealed to us, and which the historian is too apt to neglect. We should appreciate that this severe and constant student of twenty-five was a man of fine sentiment and deep feeling. We get an impression of this from the way he addresses his brother-in-law at the beginning of his letters, and also from the way he closes them. In both cases he shows an affectionate disposition and habit. He begins his first letter, after leaving the university and when writing from his father's homestead, Brunsbo, "Most learned Librarian, Dear and honored friend and brother"; the next letter began "Dear and honored friend and brother." The first letter he wrote after he arrived in London began simply "Dearest Brother." His most usual form is "Most honored friend and brother." His feelings towards his brother-in-law were those of almost filial affection and a friendly admiration. He frequently ends his letter with affectionate reference to the members of the family. His second letter from Brunsbo closes with "With much kind love to sister Anna, I commend you to the protection of the Highest, and remain always Your most obedient servant"; and he adds at the bottom, "To the most Worthy and Celebrated Hon. Eric Benzelius, Librarian of the University of Upsal."

One of the letters from London ends "Please remember me kindly to sister Anna, my dear sister Hedvig, and also to Brother Ericus Benzel, the little one; about whose state of health I always desire to hear." From Rostock, just before he returned home, his letter ended: "A thousand remembrances to my sister Anna, I hope she is not alarmed at the approach of the Russians. I have a great longing to see little brother Eric again; perhaps he will be able to make a triangle, or draw one for me, when I give him a little ruler. Fairwell, and again fairwell! This is the wish of your devoted friend." "A thousand remembrances to sister Anna and little brother Eric," is a frequent way of closing. "Little brother Eric" was the oldest son of the family. His sister Anna was about two years older than Swedenborg. He had a very warm and constant affection for her.

From Paris Swedenborg went to Hamburg and thence to Pomerania, and spent nearly a year at Rostock and Greifswalde, writing and getting his materials in order. He is now beginning a new phase of his career.

LEWIS F. HITE.

THE MYSTERY OF THE TRINITY*

By Austin Warren, Ph. D.

WHOSOEVER will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith. Which faith except every one doth keep holy and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly. And the Catholic faith is this: that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity, neither confounding the persons nor dividing the substance.

So begins the Athanasian Creed; and farther on it proposes this paradox:

For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity to acknowledge every Person by Himself to be God and Lord, so are we forbidden by the Catholic religion to say there be three Gods or three Lords.

Popular religion, both Catholic and Protestant, has often, perhaps commonly, been tritheistic rather than trinitarian; but no student of theology can fairly say that either the Nicene or the Athanasian Creed—more especially the latter, which is the Church's most exact statement of the dogma—is tritheistic. Even Swedenborg, who saw tritheism everywhere, does not deny that the 'orthodox' *confess* a belief in one God; his charge is rather that this 'lip-confession' is belied by their thought, which is of three Gods.[1]

Among trinitarians the doctrine of the Godhead is confessedly a doctrine of a 'mystery'—which is not to say a doctrine of an incomprehensible; for if the Trinity were incomprehensible, we should be incapable of knowing so much as that there is a Trinity. A 'mystery' is a truth, not an ignorance; but a truth 'seen through a glass, darkly,'—

**Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation.* By Members of the Anglican Communion; ed. by A. E. J. Rawlinson. London and New York; Longmans, Green & Co. 1928. 415 pp., 8vo. $7.50.

[1]True Christian Religion, n. 173.

a truth dimly descried, though descried. This doctrine is held by the Catholic Church not to be susceptible of discovery by the reason. Natural religion, so-called, can arrive at the truth that there is a God, a Creator and Supreme Moral Governor of the universe; but the doctrine of the Trinity belongs to the province of 'revealed religion.' It is not, however, contrary to reason, only superior to it; and the reason may illustrate the doctrine (as St. Augustine and all theologians have done) by analogies which are more or less accurate and helpful.

Various types of objection may be and have been raised against the doctrine ever since its promulgation at the Council of Nicæa. Orthodox trinitarianism was offensive to the Christians of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, either because they took an Arian or Nestorian view of Jesus Christ (i. e., regarded Him, in His Incarnation, as ultimately less than God), or because they took an Apollinarian or Monophysite view (i. e., regarded the Incarnation as not fully real,—denied the true humanity of Christ), or because they took a Monarchian or Sabellian view (i. e., regarded 'Father,' 'Son,' and 'Holy Ghost' as names of particular functions or manifestations of the Godhead). All of these objections are attempts to dispose of the paradoxical character which the orthodox doctrine undeniably possesses; any one of the three rival doctrines is perhaps more intelligible, seems to push analysis of the case farther.

Swedenborg, who is one of the bitterest opponents the orthodox doctrine has had, taught a view of the Trinity which, in terms of historic theology, is best described as Sabellian. He had a scientific turn of mind, was accustomed to research and study which should push its investigation to the limits. He was impatient of 'mysteries'; and his theology, which he regarded as eminently 'rational,' is impatient of the old trinitarian mystery of three in one and one in three. Swedenborg was a strict monist: God is One, he taught; and 'God the Father' and 'God the Son' are simply names distinguishing between two *characters* or

manifestations of the same Deity. Swedenborg's Trinity was a philosopher's Trinity—a Trinity of abstractions—Love, Wisdom, and Use. Such a Trinity seemed to him intelligible; and he could further illustrate it by his analogy of 'soul, body, and operation,' composing a single man. 'From the trinity in every man, then, who can fail to perceive the trinity in the Lord?'[2]

Among modern dissenters from the orthodox doctrine Swedenborg is almost alone in feeling Apollinarian or Sabellian scruples. Modern dissent is, by and large, Arian and Socinian—a type of dissent which Swedenborg would undoubtedly have regarded as more dreadful than the orthodoxy it has so largely supplanted, at least in Protestantism. So-called liberal Christianity has abandoned trinitarianism because it no longer thinks of Jesus Christ as God. The 'Master,' the moral sage, the apocalyptic enthusiast—in none of these is there any call to recognize a God.

Modernists object to the doctrine of the Trinity either on empirical and pragmatic or on rationalistic grounds. Matthew Arnold,[3] still the most readable of all modernists, poked fun at the Athanasian Creed as a piece of pseudo-science, as metaphysical speculation and learned subtlety expended on a subject about which religious experience[4] could not enlighten us. Arnold felt very keenly the contemporary dissatisfaction with theology, as something which had, after all, little to do with 'real religion.'

Unitarianism, so-called, is ordinarily rationalism, or naturalism. It proceeds upon the assumption that natural law is inviolable, that there are no exceptions to ordered system; hence, alleged miracles, or exceptions to natural law, are all error or imposture. No amount of 'historical evidence' for the Virgin Birth or any other 'miracle' stands any show with the dogmatic rationalist.

Swedenborg's dislike of the orthodox doctrine was, I

[2] True Christian Religion, nn. 166-9.

[3] In his "Literature and Dogma" (1873).

[4] 'Religious experience' is not a Victorian phrase, but Arnold was one of the first to capitalize the overworked distinction.

think, on both empirical and rationalistic grounds; though needless to say his 'rationalism' was not of the current naturalistic sort. Much of his antipathy was due to his own practical, anti-speculative nature. 'All religion has to do with life' fairly represents his emphasis, in spite of the row upon row of the 'Theological Works.' He is impatient of the metaphysical subtleties which necessarily attend technical theology—scholastic deductions and speculations. His vehement pages on the doctrine are a polemic against popular tritheism, not a refutation of orthodox theology.

All doctrinal discussions should lead one back to the question of authority. Why is one to believe in the Trinity,—or in any other doctrine? By what authority? The authority of the Bible? of the Church? of experience? of reason? Appeal has been made to all of these by some men at some time. Perhaps few would appeal to the letter of the Scriptures in proof of the Trinity. In them there is only one undisputed occurrence of the trinitarian formula.[5] Swedenborg holds that it is not clear from the Scriptures, read in the light of reason alone, whether there are 'three Gods, who in essence . . . are one God' or whether there are three 'qualities or attributes of one God.'[6] He further holds that the trinitarian dogma is the result of one's reading the Word 'under the auspices of his own intelligence'[7] or the result of attending to the decrees of councils.[8]

The Catholic position is that the doctrine is to be accepted *de fide* as taught in the Athanasian Creed, because the Creed was promulgated by an Ecumenical Council, and Ecumenical Councils are divinely inspired in their dogmatic pronouncements. It is difficult to say on what authority 'orthodox' Protestantism accepts the doctrine of the Trinity, or the Creeds, or the Bible. The canon of the Bible was established by the Church in her Councils; the Creeds were the pro-

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[5]St. Matthew, xxviii, 19.
[6]True Christian Religion, n. 165.
[7]*Ibid.*, n. 165.
[8]*Ibid.*, n. 177.

nouncements of the same Church. Have the Bible or the Creeds any more authority than the authority given them by the Church? Swedenborg saw the difficulty much more clearly than other Protestants either then or now. He rejects the authority both of the Creeds and of the Councils.[9]

"Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation," a recent work of Anglican faith and learning, tries to defend the doctrine on grounds of reason, experience, reflection, without appealing to any credal or ecclesiastical authority. It has been described by an acute Roman Catholic reviewer as showing

> A painstaking and conscientious effort to arrive at orthodox, exact, and truthful conclusions in a subject bristling with difficulty and obscurity. But there is this difference [from Roman Catholic works on the same subject, e. g., Lebreton's *Histoire du Dogme de la Trinité*]: a Catholic scholar, in studying theology historically, must be guided by the principle that the same divine assistance which led to the definitions of Nicæa has guided doctrinal definition ever since.[10]

The volume as a whole comprises eight essays of varying length and worth, including a learned and ample defense of Christianity against contemporary charges that its characteristic doctrines and *cultus* were derived from the Hellenic mystery religions.[11] But the two principal essays, by Dr. K. E. Kirk and the Rev. F. W. Green, deal with the 'Evolution' and 'Development' of the Doctrine of the Trinity. These are not essays to be read by those who are impatient of analysis and reflection upon theological themes, or by those who dislike footnotes and the citation of 'authorities.' Much study has been made of patristic theology in recent years; there has been much historical research and much philosophical speculation. The present volume draws heavily not only upon historical works like Fr. Lebreton's, but upon philosophical works like Professor Webb's masterly Gifford Lectures, "God and Personality."

[9] *Ibid*, n. 177.
[10] *The Tablet*, June 30, 1928, p. 870.
[11] A. D. Nock, "Early Gentile Christianity," pp. 51-156.

Dr. Kirk's great essay considers, first, the possibility that the Christian doctrine of the Trinity is the result of metaphysical speculation, or that it is an imitation of the alleged Trinities of other oriental religions. In quite a masterly way he takes up the suggested analogies one by one, and shows their inadequacy, their lack of real resemblance. He then proceeds to trace the history of Christian thought upon the subject from St. Paul and the Evangelists down through the patristic centuries. His most interesting discovery is the fact that both the Gospels and the Fathers are ordinarily *binitarian* rather than trinitarian up to the time of the Council of Nicæa.

> Scarcely anywhere prior to the fourth century is the divine personality of the Spirit asserted alongside the Persons of Father and Son—except, indeed, by Tertullian on occasion; and "he was in advance of his age."[12]

"Our problem in the main is, Why three hypostases and not two only?" writes Dr. Kirk. This answer is an interesting one. He says:

> By the term *person* we mean, not a mere separate title (of these there are a plenty), but the terminus of a distinct and recognisable relationship of God with man. Three "Persons" and no more are given to us by our personal experience of God, which initiates us into those three several relationships of which we have spoken.[13]

All this seems to make the delicate avoidance of tritheism on the one hand and of modalism on the other to which orthodoxy is bound,[14] though there is not space to do Dr. Kirk's position justice. His weak point is his attempt to find such a 'relationship' between man and the Holy Spirit. Here Dr. Kirk becomes, as Anglican speculators are apt to become, somewhat fantastic. He finds the Holy Spirit *characteristically* at work in 'irresistible grace' (St. Augustine's phrase), the 'compulsory moralisation of man by

[12]Essays on the Trinity, p. 214.
[13]*Ibid*, p. 236.
[14]See Gore, "Belief in Christ," *passim*.

God.'[15] The violent conversion of a Luther or Wesley—or St. Paul—is the 'fruit of the Spirit.'

A concluding remark (*aria da capo*) upon the 'mystery' of the Trinity. The orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, whatever its truth, is no more mysterious, irrational, or incredible than the doctrine of the Incarnation. Other miracles are swallowed up in this. He who believes in the *Deus-Homo* can have no greater call upon his faith.

But one hesitates to appeal to the doctrine of the Incarnation. We are in no trouble to find other 'mysteries,'—they are everywhere in life; and we search rather for somewhat we can be said to know. Metaphysics from Berkeley down to Russell has disposed of 'common-sense realism'; and science has joined with metaphysics in banishing 'matter.' The readers of Professor Whitehead know how elusive and 'mysterious' a thing their 'natural world' really is. The world of Appearance is so little like the world of Reality, to which reflection in part admits us, that the word "mystery" ceases to seem a restrictive term.

AUSTIN WARREN, PH. D.

[15] Essays on the Trinity, p. 233.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

CLEAR THINKING, INTERPRETATION, AND APPLICATION.

Clear thinking, interpretation, and application are indispensable requirements for right living. The ordinary conditions of life are exceedingly complicated and various. We gradually become more or less familiar with them, and learn to adapt ourselves to them sufficiently to accomplish many of our immediate and some of our remote purposes. We learn by degrees what to eat and what to wear, how to find or build for ourselves comfortable homes, how to work and how to behave ourselves in our social relations. We learn something about the motives and sources of life, and to appropriate the lessons of the past. We learn to make distinctions between the outer and inner realms of experience, and to establish relations of correspondence between them. We are insistently confronted with our relations to our fellow men, our relations to the outer world, the world of Nature, and the relations of our conduct to our ideals. All these things cohere to a certain extent, and help to constitute a body of knowledge which we add to from generation to generation. With the growth of experience our knowledge, or some of it, becomes systematized; and we have the whole body of science, and the several well developed branches which we know as the special sciences. In the course of this development certain general principles are established, based upon observed uniformities and regularities. The sun rises and sets with practical regularity; the seasons and day and night recur without fail; hunger and thirst recur periodically, and are relieved by food and drink; most familiar bodies fall to the earth when unsupported, and the larger and heavier they are the more force is required to move them. Rivers flow into the

sea and the winds raise the waves. The winds also bring the cold blasts from the north; sometimes they blow down our houses and the trees of the forest. The mists rise from the streams and from the seas, and form the clouds which descend as rain. The changes of the heat of the sun, together with the winds and rain, make our weather, which comes periodically, but too often capriciously. The weather conditions are too complicated for precise calculation or prediction, in spite of periodical occurrence. Such uniformities and regularities lead us to seek explanations and causes, and we get in the habit of inferring one event from another. Complexities and irregularities and conflicts give us trouble; especially the conflicts of wills and ideas, of aims and purposes and interests. Under the pressure of these conditions we are forced to think and to act, very often when thinking and acting are difficult. Such difficulties give us problems to solve; and they can be solved only in the light of clear principles which apply to other situations as well as to the situation immediately before us. This requires us to take and to appreciate other points of view, especially the points of view of those who oppose us. Such is the context of life which engulfs us all.

Philosophy has for untold ages busied itself with the task of throwing light upon this tangled web and enabling men to tread their way securely and confidently through the maze. Professor James in one of his many brilliant phrases defined metaphysics as an unusually obstinate attempt to think clearly. We are all—by necessity if not from choice—metaphysicians; we are all bound to the task of clear thinking by the very requirement of living good and successful practical lives. The habits of the race and of the group help us to steer our course fairly well under ordinary circumstances and in large part; but individual needs and purposes call for intelligent adaptation, which involves well considered choice. The problems of social, political, and business life are constantly pressing for solution. Clear thinking as well as patient investigation is needed for the proper solution.

We have just now the problem of dealing effectively with the

liquor traffic; it is a social, political, and business problem, not to say a moral and spiritual issue. But it is first of all an intellectual problem. The views and interests of men differ; it is clear thinking based upon the facts of human nature and of history that must decide the issue. There are certain principles and facts that must be clearly apprehended. To begin with, public interests must prevail over private inclinations, habits, and desires. The liquor traffic is a public business, in fact an international business, and as such is subject to public and international control. Another pertinent characteristic of the liquor traffic is that it has been lawless throughout its history; it has disregarded and violated all laws made to control it. At the present time it is a world-wide problem of great complexities, moral and religious, economic, political, and civil. In this country, we have been forced to take the drastic measure of national prohibition, after having tried successively temperance lectures, local option, and state control in vain. The object of the legislation is to reduce and control a public nuisance, although a contemplated result has been improvement in public morals and welfare. These considerations are the principles that need to be kept in mind when we undertake to reach clear convictions and conclusions about the situation. But there are other factors not less important. The three chief ones are: the liquor manufacturers, the sellers, and the drinkers. The habit of drinking intoxicating liquors seems to be as old as history, and has acquired a halo of tradition and sociability which obscures the naked fact that the habit is injurious both to the individual and to the public. The appetites, desires, and habits of the drinkers support the traffic; the manufacturers and the sellers exploit the drinkers. These are the obstacles in the way of enforcing the law. The moral sentiment of the community is expressed in the law and in its enforcement; but the moral sentiment of the community needs to be raised to a higher level so as to become effective upon the individual drinkers. Public discussion is confusing because it neglects to give full weight to the considerations here presented. There are other considerations which have weight with some

people, such as personal liberty, the Bible use of wine, etc. There has been some natural resentment on the part of those who have an appetite for drink. What is needed is to fix and hold the attention upon the essential features of the situation, and keep clear of irrelevant complexities. This is the primary demand and condition of clear thinking. The simple consideration of public welfare, if made obvious, is enough to decide the issue. This is the final and radical simplification. Moral and religious motives are, of course, involved, but they only strengthen the civic conclusion.

This is only one—a peculiarly pressing one—of the many problems that we are constantly facing, and that demand our clearest and most effective thinking. The present conflict between religion and science, and between worldly and religious life, is very disturbing and distressing to our peace of mind, and a serious hindrance to our mental and spiritual advancement. The situation calls for deep and thorough analysis in the light of history and of spiritual truth; it calls for clear thinking on a level higher than the ordinary. The complexity of the problems involved are carried over into our Church life. We are very much concerned about reaching the world with our doctrines, and about putting our doctrines into practical life. If we get immersed in the thinking of the world, we find confusion and conflict in the most vital issues of life. The very meaning of religion itself is made to evaporate in vague discussion. The nature and position of the Bible are made topics of subtle and unsettling debate. Our ideas of the Lord, the Church, the Second Coming, and the whole meaning of life, become entangled in a maze of speculation and opinion. The place of our doctrines and Swedenborg's position in the world of modern thought become matters of distracting and endless debate. The same confusion and conflict reigns in civic, political, and industrial life, but we are more immediately concerned with morality and religion. What we need to do, is to analyze these various complicated situations, and simplify them by the application of fundamental principles established and adopted in full view of the facts of history and of life, and in this way

provide the basis of clear thinking. This means making the most of our opportunities for reading and study, with the best exercise of our intellectual powers and spiritual enlightenment.

For principles, we have an unexampled body of doctrine to draw from; but doctrines need to be interpreted and applied. Verbal statements of doctrine are not only convenient, they are indispensable. Verbal statements are ways of referring to reality and to experience; they have their significance in this reference. They are important, however, as mere forms of words which condense and register our thoughts and sentiments for easy reference and for future use. But we must not forget their significance, and use them as empty forms apart from any definite meaning. Our doctrines are verbal statements which condense and register for all time Swedenborg's Divinely illuminated thought. It is immensely important that we should make ourselves familiar with them and store our memory with them; and it is important to repeat them to others in precise form, for in this way they are made familiar to the world at large. But we must not stop here; we must not be satisfied with storing them in the memory, and repeating them on every occasion; we must not be more interested in the importance of the statement than in the importance of the meaning. But here is where our trouble begins; and here is where we have been found wanting, where we have avoided our specific task. We have been too well satisfied with reading and repeating the verbal statements of our doctrines, and have stopped short of interpreting them. Perhaps this was inevitable. Our doctrines, even in the form of verbal statement, give an immense deal of satisfaction and help; and the task of making ourselves familiar with them is a serious and extensive one, not to say an extraordinarily difficult one. But the task of interpretation is still greater and more important. Let one, for example, try to read "The Divine Love and Wisdom" with clear understanding, and interpret the statements in terms of actual experience; or, a still more difficult task, let him try to read in the same way "The Arcana Cœlestia." Aside from the statements that need to be interpreted in terms of daily life, there are very often

statements which refer to experience entirely above the human level. We might, and perhaps should, cite examples of these; but this would take us beyond our limits. The thing to be emphasized at this point is, that interpretation is needed, and the task is not an easy one. This need has been felt and expressed in various ways over and over again throughout our history. Sometimes it has been urged in questionable, not to say disastrous forms. We have been urged insistently to express the meaning of our doctrines in the language of the day, in language that the people can understand. It is both true and important that we should say what the doctrines mean in language that the people can understand; but here a caution is needed. It is not difficult to use language the people can understand, if we are content to use their language as it stands. But it is to be observed, in the first place, that in this case we should not be giving them anything new. In the next place, and more important, we might miss or avoid altogether giving the meaning the doctrines were intended to convey. It is very easy to jump from the language of the doctrines over into popular language, without passing through the thought which is contained in the doctrines, and without stopping to put the meaning of the doctrines in terms of the experience which the doctrines had in view. The task in short is this: first the verbal statement; then the experience referred to by the statement; then the language best fitted to describe the experience; and after that the language best adapted to the understanding of the people. Until we have worked seriously and earnestly at this task, we are not likely to appreciate either its difficulties or its importance. Even on ordinary occasions it is not easy to say exactly what we mean; and this is especially the case when we attempt to use the abstract language of systematized knowledge, that is, of the science of the day. Experience is immensely complicated; and when we leave the abstractions of language, and undertake to deal directly with the complexities of actual experience, we find that it is no easy matter to say exactly what the language means. And yet the task of interpreting the meaning of language is always before us. We may of course

and very properly on ordinary occasions rely upon and be content with the conventional meaning of language; nevertheless we are constantly faced with the question of the exact and specific meaning in a given case. This is the reason for the difficulties and perplexities of all kinds of discussions and debates, private and public, religious, political, philosophical, and scientific. We cannot properly shut our eyes to these requirements, and expect to perform our task by remaining in the commonplaces, the conventionalities, and the abstractions of our everyday language. The New-Church doctrines are doctrines about life, and above all about spiritual life; and we must look to spiritual life for their meaning, if we are to make spiritual progress, and give real and needed help to the world.

In a sense, interpretation includes application; for if we follow out the meaning of a statement, it will usually lead us, in thought at least, to the concrete situation it was intended to describe. Man in his full and complete nature is love, wisdom, and use. Use is the way of accomplishing the purpose of love by means of wisdom. In other words, love with its wisdom really exists in use. This is the philosophy of interpretation and application; for interpretation is the wisdom of the situation in which love finds its application, or expression. We may, however, make a distinction between application in thought and application in deed. We see the application when we see the meaning of a statement; we make the application when we do what is meant. We found that interpretation involves us in so many difficulties and complexities that we hesitate to undertake the task. The same is true of application; and the reason in both cases is that we are faced with the complexities of experience, so that it is much easier to be content with making the statement, and leave it to our hearers to see and make the application. This is intellectual laziness and inefficiency. Those who are in the position to read and study, and whose business it is to teach the people, are the ones to think out the meaning and application of statements and principles. They are missing their opportunities, if they float along in easy abstractions, however significant and important they may be.

But to think out the meaning and application of a principle

is a real achievement. The central problem of Plato's philosophy was to understand how the absolute Idea could be embodied in the particular case. As Swedenborg's phrase is, "the case is this": a general principle has many applications, and the particular case may furnish the application of many general principles. Hence arises the difficulty of deciding what principle applies to the particular case in point; and on the other hand, to what particular case a given principle applies. This is a fruitful source of differences of opinion, discussions, and debates. But the point is, that some application is necessary in the proper conduct of life. We have religious principles, moral principles, political principles, economic principles; and life is reguated by these principles either implicit or deliberately formulated and adopted; and when once formulated and adopted, the next step is to apply them to the proper situations. Our doctrines furnish us an exhaustless store of such principles; and our part as members of the Church, lay and clerical, is to learn, study, interpret, and apply them. We may and should take advantage of all opportunities to become acquainted with the thought and life of the world; we should be able to think in the world, and live in the world. But we should do more. We should bring the light and life of our doctrines into the thought and life of the world. If we merely adopt the language and thought of the world, and live in it, we are not doing the part especially assigned to us; we are avoiding the struggle and the effort to interpret and apply the principles given us.

Clear thinking, interpretation, and application are every day occupations; it is what we must do to live successful lives. But we are apt to be satisfied with a minimum of these virtues, whereas we should make continual progress in them all, and carry each to the limit of our capacities. In this way we make true men of ourselves. To be true New-Churchmen we must do our utmost to carry clear thinking, interpretation, and application into our study of our doctrines, and into our life according to the doctrines.

Among our doctrines the one of supreme importance from the religious point of view is the Doctrine of the Sacred Scriptures. There are peculiar difficulties in the matter of clear

thinking, interpretation, and application, when we undertake to read the Bible in the light of the correspondences between the "sense of the letter" and the spiritual meaning. Here is where our best powers are called into exercise. Even without the elaborate historical knowledge of the Bible which has been acquired in modern times, the task of getting the spiritual meaning is really very complicated. The doctrine of correspondences itself, although of universal significance, is hard to understand thoroughly. But when we attempt to pass in thought from the meaning of the letter to the spiritual meaning, we have the peculiar difficulty of acquiring a knowledge and understanding of spiritual life. This is our special task as New-Churchmen. The situation is this: before the correspondence can be seen, we must know the meaning of the literal sense on the one hand and the spiritual meaning on the other. This requires a knowledge of the spiritual meaning before we consider the relation of correspondence. Swedenborg gives us a large part of the spiritual meaning, and leaves us to get more by using the principles and the light he gives us. This sends us to spiritual experience as we know it. It is obvious that clear thinking, interpretation, and finally application are involved at every step. The statements of the Bible have to be interpreted as to the letter; the statements of the spiritual meaning have to be interpreted; the statements of the correspondences have to be interpreted; and the interpretation must lead to application. Our progress in spiritual life, and our usefulness in the world, depend upon our success in doing this work. LEWIS F. HITE.

MAKING TRIAL OF RELIGION.

Religion has the habit of offering itself to be tried. The very Author of life offers Himself to be tried. Religion approaches men in this reasonable and free spirit. Let the appeal as to what there is in it be to our experience with it. "Taste, and see"; "prove Me now herewith"; "if any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God." That whole way of living which we call "the spiritual life" presents itself to the very practical test of being tried out.

It is queer that there is as little as there is today of this

approach to religion's claims. The deeply religious have always ventured to make trial of religion; and they do today. But there are many who might make the same approach, but do not. They weigh religion's claims and promises and possibilities in every other way.

And that is odd today. For experiment is the method of so much of our life today. In so much else we employ this approach of making actual trial of a thing. Some of our experiments are foolish, no doubt; but many are good; and either way the temper and readiness to try are in the air. We did not settle the question whether man could fly by any theory, but tried it out. It is the reigning approach to all questions in the field of invention, of course. But so it is in other fields. We do not sit down to calculations about sleeping sickness, its nature, its possible cure. An expedition picks up for Africa to try its medical knowledge on the disease in its home. This making trial of things breaks over into the life of society, where it has to pick its way among great risks. It tries changes in law and social custom. It cannot stop with intellectual considerations *pro* and *con,* but makes its experiment, beneficent or hazardous or both. We heard recently of the trial in one European country of a law allowing the merciful ending of the incurably ill and tortured. These are more extreme, more striking, examples of the mode of approach which we make habitually today to the issues that come up in a changing civilization. The approach is vulgarly hit off in one of the perpetually heard mottoes of the time: "I'll try anything once."

Now, it is strange that in a day when this trying of things is so much the way that we take to settle our questions about them, the same approach is not more taken toward religion, its reality, and its worth.

But when religion comes forward with its interpretation of life, and its ways of living life, we say, Well, now, let us go over the history of this thing. You realize, do you not, how obscurely and poor religion started? It was in a day before there was such knowledge as there is now. People were haunted by fears of the unknown; they peopled nature with spirits that could help or harm them, and they felt there were deities over

them whom they must keep on good terms with. Religion was very much superstition. And its past has pursued it. No force has been more conservative. Or consider one other disclosure of history. After all, religion is spread over the globe; that is, there are many religions; they are arrayed against one another; in the relative values they have, it is not so clear that Christianity is the best or the final religion. That supreme factor in it, conscience, varies very much with clime and time and local habit. Do any historical analysis on religion, and reduce it to its beginnings, and see its self-contradictions; and the standing and source assigned it traditionally are not so clear. See if, not the windows of heaven, but the doors of an impossible supernatural world are not opened to you, to let in a flock of reflections and inferences to overwhelm credence in the thing!

Or there is that other approach to religion, current, but perennial. Religion offers itself, with its tremendous implications, a soul in the human being that is the actual person, and imperishable; a life after death; an eternal justice; a God Who sees and cares. And immediately the mind goes to work on these implications. A soul in us which is the real man, and immortal? Let us see what evidence there is for any such proposition. We begin weighing intellectual *pros* and *cons*. A life after death—is there any credible proof of it? An eternal justice? What reading of history bears that out? What view of the fortunes of the mass of men? A God Who sees and cares? Instead of "tasting and seeing that God is good," we proceed to array our arguments for and against. If He is good, He cannot be all-powerful, for see the evil He lets go immune; or if all-powerful, He is not good. Religion proffers itself, with what it refers to as its untold blessings; and we begin weighing intellectually what we take to be its claims.

But should not these be the tests—intellectual weighing, historical analysis? They may very well be among the tests, indeed. They are bound to be. Religion has its intellectual side; it has propositions to make to the mind; it comes freighted with an interpretation of the world and of life. And it chal-

lenges thought. What it challenges, it must submit to be tested by. It is itself in part thought, and it must commend itself to thinking. But it is more. Religion essentially is a spirit, a way of meeting and living life. And the only sufficient way to try a spirit of action, a confidence in spiritual realities, the fruitfulness of a high way of life, is to adopt the spirit, the faith, the high way, and try them out. The very man who, weighing the matter intellectually, is baffled to make out a case for a good God, due to the evil in the world, in some evil case of his own, seeking God's relief, finds God good.

And historical analysis of religion cannot be waved off, either. Religion has had its history. It is one of the supreme forces in civilization's development. It is evidently open to historical examination and scrutiny. It is well to know its life-story. But is it not history itself that tells us that religion now is not what it was? That it has developed? That it has steadily pushed out of the world of fears and the realm of superstitious suggestions into the region of righteous life and thoughtful apprehension of its realities? History gives us some faint idea what an amazing force this is that had such an obscure and slow beginning. Finally religion turns right around on history. It is a force that makes history; its validities are not settled by history.

No, religion is well aware what is the only real measure of itself and of what it has to give. It has to be tried on. It has itself always thought so. If making trial of a thing is today a chief method in science, in medical research, in social reorganization, in invention and construction, and a rather new procedure, it is ancient in religion. It has always offered itself to this modern test of experiment, and experience. It has always spoken in such language as this: "O taste, and see that the Lord is good"; "Prove me now herewith"; "If a man will do His will, he shall know."

Shall we pray or not? Is there anything in it? Are we in speech with ourselves only? Or do we find communion with One higher, and an actual conveying into us from Him of fresh energy, help, and light? How can we settle it except by trying prayer? Shall we trust there is a good and just and judging God

overhead? Shall we trust enough to forego some things because we know He is there? Is there any basis for going so far? How can we settle the question except by starting on the confidence and trying it out, and seeing if God does not answer (like Elijah's true God) with fire—the fire of enkindled interest in life, and of assurances of His presence? Shall we live scrupulously? Will it do in this world of compromises and mixed values? How shall we know that when we cling to what we call honor or ideal or standard, and pass up for them some easy money or an unmerited acclaim or a big transient pleasure or power—how shall we know we are not in a fool's paradise? How may we know the so-called higher values are higher, and real? How can we settle it but by trying it out; by giving any possible satisfactions in integrity, untarnished self-respect, loyalty to the best, the chance to visit us? Shall we feel that anywhere in this world we have the revealed word and will of God? Must we not have in evidence a book sheerly and unmistakably Divine? No human literature in any respect or spot? How else shall we know that we are at God's doctrine? "If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God." We take it in slowly that the religious, down over the ages, have ever made a venture of trying religion. Like Abraham they set out for a land of which they were yet to be told. Like Moses they began a career on the success of which he would have no seal until he had started on it, and indeed got a considerable way in it. The baptisms of God's good pleasure in His people and servants come with years. Thirty of the Lord's own thirty-three years had passed when He heard, "Thou art My beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased." Those who have found religion's satisfaction have adopted the test to which religion offers itself. They have made trial of it. They have been supremely glad to do so. It left them a high and thrilling choice in the matter. There was the satisfaction of venture. There was the wonder of returning to a subtly challenging, but unseen and strictly unprovable, God a bold and unreserved trust and faith, which then reveal Him. Why should He trust Himself to less?

WILLIAM F. WUNSCH.

BIBLICAL AND DOCTRINAL STUDIES

AT JESUS' FEET

Among the beautiful prophecies of the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ into the world are Isaiah's words: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace: that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth." (*Isa.* lii. 7.) These words stand now in a sense as a record of that wonderful, blessed life with men; they are also still a prophecy of the continued blessing to be realized by men from the Lord's glorified and eternal presence. The Lord lived His life upon the mountains: not in the clouds, in the sense of its being an unreal, unpractical life, but on the mountains, for His life was the expression of Divine love. He taught the ways of Christian love in the sermon on the Mount; He walked and led in mountain pathways, as He lived in the ways of service and taught men, and gave them power to live in those ways with Him.

His feet are the plane of human life, of this world's life, which the Lord shared with men, in which He came so near to us, and in which He *is* so near to us, in all the labor, the suffering, and the joy of this world. The mountains are the Divine love in which that life was lived. The prophet may well exclaim, "How beautiful."

There is beauty and power in the prophecies of the Lord's coming, which speak of His coming near to men with love and saving power as the stretching forth of His arm and hand—His mighty hand and His stretched-out arm. But even more than the hand, the mention of His feet emphasizes how fully the Lord in His coming shared with us all things of human life; how completely and really He stood with us in this world,

walked this earth, and partook of human joys and sorrows. The way is opened to realize His sympathy, His approachableness, His companionship.

We may notice, too, how the mention of the Lord's hands and feet, begun in the prophets, is continued in the Gospels. The mighty hand and stretched out arm of prophecy became a reality when the Lord Jesus put forth His hand to heal the sick and to cleanse the lepers; when He took the little children in His arms, put His hands upon them, and blessed them. The Gospels, too, tell how the sick were brought and cast at Jesus' feet for healing; the man from whom devils were cast out was found sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed and in his right mind. We must keep still the thought of His feet as the symbol of the Lord's presence on the plane of this world's life, the natural plane of life which He took to Himself in coming into the world, which brought Him so near with healing, cleansing, saving help to men; and being glorified in Him, keeps Him so near to us in every human need.

There is also promise of a quiet strength from the Lord, when we set anxious care aside, and learn with Mary in Bethany to sit at the Lord's feet to hear His word. The love of the Lord's presence as the best there is in life, the giving of all for the blessing of it, is again expressed in Mary's pouring costly ointment on the Lord's head and feet, and wiping His feet with her hair.

Presently, on the resurrection day, as the women were hastening from the sepulchre of the Lord, to bring his disciples word, Jesus met them; and we read that they came and held Him by the feet, and worshipped Him. How very expressive of the fear felt by the loving followers of the Lord, that now, though He still lived, they should lose His presence which was so precious to them on this natural plane of life; that they could not as before have His sympathy and companionship in all things of this world. They longed to keep this presence; they passionately clung to it; they came and held Him by the feet, and worshipped Him. And that same Easter evening the Lord came to the disciples gathered in Jerusalem, and as proof

of His presence, that He was with them still on the plane of this world's life (for they were affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit), He said: "Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; handle me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have. And when He had thus spoken, He showed them His hands and His feet." It is possible that the wounds of the crucifixion in the Lord's hands and feet gave conviction to the disciples, as they did later to Thomas. This would seem to bear witness especially to the Lord's nearness still and sympathy in the trials and hardships of this life. The Lord's resurrection and ascension did not mean the withdrawing of His saving presence from the plane of this world's life. It would have been a small advantage, if the Lord had come to this world, to make felt His saving presence for a time, then to withdraw His presence, and leave men helpless as before. The Lord did not withdraw His presence; He made it full, and He made it lasting, by the victories of His life. "He glorified His humanity, uniting it with the Divinity of which it was begotten." He made His saving presence full: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth"; and He made it lasting: "Lo, I am with you always." It was the lesson of Easter Day and of the days that followed, to learn that the Lord is still with us on the plane of human life, on the plane of this world's life. He still enters with sympathy into all our human needs, all our labors, all our sorrows and our joys; He is with us in them all, with saving help. In proof of this, He showed the disciples His hands and His feet.

And was it not further proof that the Lord had made full and lasting His presence with us on this human, this earthly plane of life, that when He appeared in glory to John in Patmos, His countenance as the sun shining in His strength, His feet also are mentioned? He was clothed with a garment down to the foot, and His feet were like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace. His feet are still upon the earth. The Lord Jesus Christ is with us as really as when He walked in Galilee and on the Mount of Olives, our nearest Friend,

entering with Divine sympathy into all experiences of our natural life, with power to bless and save.

"How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings." The man delivered from devils sat at the feet of Jesus, clothed and in his right mind. Mary sat at Jesus' feet, and heard His word; she anointed His feet with ointment, and wiped them with her hair. The women held the risen Lord by the feet, and worshipped Him. He proved to them the reality of His presence by showing them His hands and His feet. He walks today in the midst of the seven lamps, which are the seven churches, His feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace. All this to teach us of the closeness of human sympathy, the nearness of presence, the fulness of saving help, with which the Lord walked this earth with men, and with which He still stands among us.

It is important for us to realize this Divine Human presence, Human in the closeness of its touch and sympathy, Divine in the fulness of its power. That we may grow more and more in experience of the Lord's nearness and his help, it is important for us to learn all that we can about the life of Jesus on this earth, as described to us in the Gospels. The geography of the land becomes important in which the Savior lived—to visit, if we can, the places where He lived, by actual travel or by pictures; to stand where He stood on the hills of Nazareth, by the Sea of Galilee, on the Mount of Olives; to walk in the paths in which He walked, and to look out upon the scenes that He looked upon,—it all helps to make real the Gospel story, and the reality of the Lord's presence with us. The history of the Savior's life becomes important,—the facts of His life as related in the Gospels, and the side lights thrown upon the story by the customs of the country which through the years have in the Lord's providence been so wonderfully preserved. The reports of scientific observers are important, and of the archeologist in countries neighboring to Palestine; and in the Holy Land itself, a wealth of buried knowledge awaits the explorer in the new freedom of research since the war.

Such information may seem natural and external, and to

have little relation to the life of the Lord with them, and to His Divine saving work. But it is all helpful in making full and true our knowledge of the life of the Lord, in making real to us the personal Jesus, and in making real His continued and living presence. Still more we need a thoughtful and reverent reading and study of the Gospels, and of the Old Testament, too, for the insight that it gives us into the deeper aspect of the Gospel and of the Savior's life. The Christian Churches have been moved at seasons like Lent to engage in systematic reading of the Gospel and of the Lord's life. It means much for the strengthening of Christian lives, if this study is undertaken reverently, and faithfully carried out. Through a large part of the year we are studying conditions of life in ourselves and in the world about us, in the effort to see how they can be made more orderly and more living. It is surely needful that for a part of the year we make it our chief effort to come nearer to the Lord Who is the source of all life and power, to strengthen our hold upon Him, to open wider the channels of life from Him, that we may return to our tasks strengthened, with a clearer vision and new power.

Let us make it our purpose to come to Jesus' feet, to learn more of the Savior as He revealed Himself to men, to become more familiar with the circumstances and the incidents of His life on earth, to study more closely His example, to listen more attentively to His words of instruction and tender appeal, and above all to enter more deeply into the spirit of His life, that we may feel more fully than we have done the goodness of it, and the blessing of keeping near to Him. Feel anew, as you read, how fully and thoroughly the Lord entered into the experiences of human life; how near He came to children in His childhood, how near He came to young men and women in his youth, how near to those in labor in His patient years as a carpenter in Nazareth, how fully He shared our suffering and sorrow, and the despair and agony of temptation. We are coming to the Lord's feet in thus learning of His life on earth, and entering into the spirit of that life; and at His feet we shall find blessing.

There will be times when we shall ask the Lord to help us to cast out evil passions, and selfish and indulgent ways, which we cannot bind or tame; and we shall feel His saving help; we shall be found sitting at the feet of Jesus clothed and in our right mind. There will be times when in quieter moods we seek His instruction and encouragement, and an inward peace, when we shall be found like Mary sitting at Jesus' feet to hear His word. And there will be times when our whole heart goes out to Him in answer to His love, and we give ourselves to Him utterly, like Mary when she poured on Him the precious ointment, and wiped His feet with her hair.

What the little group who were about the Lord on earth knew of the blessing of His presence; what the disciples knew, or Mary in Bethany, or the multitude who came for healing or to listen to His teaching, was but little in comparison with the blessing which men and women may experience who, learning to know and love the Lord in His eternal nearness, come reverently to His feet. There are waiting greater gifts of personal deliverance and blessing, and still greater miracles of saving power in bringing order into the world's larger social life, for those who will know and love the Lord in His eternal nearness and come humbly to His feet.

WILLIAM L. WORCESTER.

THE POWERFUL SYMBOLS OF THE HOLY SUPPER.

In coming thoughtfully to the Holy Supper we come face to face with great symbols and even a series of symbols. It is first of all a sublimation of the Jewish Passover. The first Supper is both a Passover kept, and the Supper instituted. The elements of the Passover are provided, and prepared in that "large upper room" in Jerusalem. The lamb and bread (unleavened) and wine were employed in the Passover. But in instituting the Supper the Lord was the Lamb, and in the two elements He gave His disciples He was represented, as to flesh, and as to blood. Bread and wine stood for Himself—"given for you."

What was He essentially? Not flesh and blood, certainly; for these were only means of His, His garment for earth, His temporal symbols. He had come to give Life to men; and His body was not life, but He was. His body was but the vehicle and the medium of that Life. Therefore it could *stand* for the Life. And the Supper in two forms, called attention to a two-foldness in the Life which He gives: flesh and blood are distinguished and presented as separate elements, or forms.

That is, the immediate symbols have these other symbols beyond them—bread represents His body, wine His blood; and farther back still, all represent the elements of Life which He proffers men.

To lead men away from literalness and materiality in their thought, and to get penetration into the symbol, the Lord says, in His discourse in *John* vi: "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak unto you are spirit and they are life" (verse 63).

To give a clue to what He signified by the sacrament He also said: "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him" (verse 56). Reverse the reading of this, and the symbol-garment further unwinds from about the Treasure within; thus: "He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, (he) eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood." In short, then, dwelling in the Lord and having the Lord dwell in us, is eating His flesh and drinking His blood. And to dwell in Him is, we find, to keep His commandments, to invite Him from love for Him into our hearts, and to live from Him unceasingly after the manner that a branch lives from the vine from which is its beginning and source in every motion of life it has.

So He says in further elucidation, at verse 57, "As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father: so he that eateth Me even he shall live by *Me*." At verse 58: "he that eateth of this Bread shall live for ever." And at verse 33, He said, "For the Bread of GOD is HE that cometh down from Heaven. and giveth Life unto the world." It was not His body of flesh and blood that came down from Heaven; and it was not this which was the Life He was giving.

We read of the disciples then that they responded as we may now,—"Then they said unto Him, "Lord, evermore give us this bread." "And Jesus said unto them, I am the bread of life: he that *cometh to Me* shall never hunger; and He that *believeth into Me* shall never thirst."

In this last verse we have an indication of how He differentiated in significance between the flesh and the blood, which is to say also, between the bread and the wine in the sacrament. This, too, we can see by reading in reverse order. Reading carefully, we are taught that to drink the wine is to "believe on Him" (literally in the original tongue to "believe *into*" Him)—because believing into Him prevents all further thirst; and to eat the bread is to "come to Him."

In the discourse itself is the key to its deeper unfolding. In the symbol of the wine the emphasis is on the mind relationship; whereas in the symbol of the bread the emphasis is on the whole life relationship.

There is a twofold suggestion in the Sacrament then. It makes plain what we do to partake. It represents what we do inwardly, in the realm and life of the spirit, or in the soul. So viewed, receiving the bread represents our coming to the Lord with our whole life, especially in will and deed; while the receiving in the wine represents our coming to Him in mind, especially in thought and understanding. But in the second view, these elements signify what from Him is being received. To get at the identity of these two gifts most quickly, let us ask, What is it in Him, or from Him, that draws us to Him? that leads us to "come to Him"? We answer that question at once by saying, It is His Love for us, the sense of His Goodness, goodness in Himself and goodness to us,—this is what draws us to Him! Is it not, then, exactly this that we receive when we come to Him? when love responds to Love?

Then we ask, What is it that leads us to believe in Him? We answer this question just as easily. It is His trueness, the truth which we see in Him, taught, lived, exemplified. It is because we see Him as the Truth, as the Way, that we "believe

into Him." Is it not, then, the truth of Him which we receive in believing into Him? when mind responds to Mind?

Such is the promise: "If any man hear My voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with Me." "He that cometh to Me shall never hunger; and he that believeth into Me shall never thirst."

Hence the Sacrament, and its great possibilities!

The power that waits on the establishment of right relationships is plain in many directions today. Place the due means in the proper relationship, and we have an electric current—another little change and there is heat! and another, and it is light! So bring together another proper combination of delicate elements in their delicate relation to unseen forces—correspondence with an invisible power—and we have the marvels of the radio.

If things so wonderful can be produced in nature by right relationships, what may not be wrought by these perfect Divine correspondences of the Sacrament in the soul faithfully observing them!

"This do in remembrance of me."

"This is My body being given for you."

"This is My blood of the new covenant being poured out for you."

EVERETT K. BRAY.

A DIGEST OF THE TEACHING ON "CHARITY" (II).

III. THE INSEPARABLENESS OF CHARITY FROM FAITH.

Of course, when Swedenborg speaks of the relations between charity and faith, he is using the word "charity" not to mean the spiritual life (the wider meaning of the word, as we saw), but as meaning the disinterested desire to live serviceably. That, with faith, constitutes the spiritual life as we now know it. It lets light on our present subject at once, to remind ourselves of the stricter meaning of Swedenborg's charity, and to put that meaning in these particular terms, "the disinterested

desire to live serviceably." For it is obvious on reflection that our desire to live serviceably rises to disinterestedness in the degree in which realities of the spirit are present to one. A God of infinite and unresting love for others is the one sufficient inspiration for such living. But He is real only to faith. Charity and faith are inseparable.

The Theological Works put the fact bluntly: the inseparableness of charity and faith is "an immovable truth" (True Christian Religion, n. 393). Charity is not found solitary (Arcana Cœlestia, n. 1843(3)). What seems so to exist is "a mere sentiment or affection" (Spiritual Diary, n. 3600), just as what looks like faith where charity is absent is better described as "persuasion" (Arcana Cœlestia, n. 2261(2)). These two forms of statement—the one directly asserting the inseparableness of charity and faith, and the other denying that either exists solitary—probably represent the whole of the thought of the doctrines. If they can be said to modify their thought anywhere, it is in making charity the freer to exist by itself. If charity is absent, faith will be (Arcana Cœlestia, nn. 5849(2), 6000(4), 8902(6)); but charity will manage alone with children (Diary, n. 4626), and is to be expected with and without the truths to build it out (Arcana Cœlestia, nn. 2049(4), 3451(3), 2388(3)), though to form fully it will require these (*ibid.*, n. 2049(4)).

The inseparableness of these two elements of the spiritual life comes out, too, short of blunt statement, in many a characterization of the relation between the two. Charity is the good of faith (Arcana Cœlestia, nn. 2776e, 3236(2)), or the "goodness" of faith (n. 654). It is only varied utterance of the same idea when charity is called the principal of faith (n. 654), or the primary of it (n. 989), or the essential of it (n. 1017). Called internal to faith as external (n. 3868), it is still represented as inseparable from the other. It is the holy of faith (n. 3923). It is the active to faith's passive (n. 7754). It is soul to faith's body, body to faith's garments (n. 1073). And then there is the likening of the inseparable two to other things inseparable, like affection and thought (Doctrine of

Faith, n. 15), and will and understanding (n. 18); or charity is related to will and faith to understanding (Arcana Cœlestia, n. 2975e); and again the two are likened to heart and lungs (Doctrine of Faith, n. 19).

There is also reference to charity and faith in the terms of various human relationships. Rarest here is the employment of the words implying something like the relation of parent and child. Faith is charity's first offspring, says the "Arcana" at n. 1228. The "Apocalypse Explained," n. 795, speaks of charity's producing faith. But the two keep appearing in the correspondences of the Bible as brothers, and the inseparableness is in the repeated fact that the brothers are twins. This way of conceiving the relationship (n. 367) also leaves room for the inveterate debate which of the two has the primogeniture, charity or faith (n. 2435). It is only natural perception that thinks faith has (n. 3324, Apocalypse Revealed, nn. 386, 655(4), True Christian Religion, 326(2)). Yet if neither is really found solitary, these elements and attitudes of the spiritual character develop together. And especially as Swedenborg contemplates the fact that the two must be present for production of the works of regenerate character, he comes to employ terms of the marriage relationship. The two are united as in marriage (Brief Exposition, n. 48), and as man and wife (True Christian Religion, n. 377).

It is understood, of course, that what Swedenborg is doing is not putting charity and faith together in doctrinal estimation. That is a good deal. To do so much is to depart from the doctrinal outlook of the former church. By that church charity was a kind of after-effect of faith, or appendix to it. In the Church now to be, charity is on an equal footing with faith. See "True Christian Religion," n. 647e. But saying from mere principle that charity is primary is not the whole point (Spiritual Diary, nn. 5881, 5848(4), 5961, Apocalypse Explained, nn. 107(2), 458(2), 798e). Precisely when it is the doctrine of faith that assures us charity is on a par with faith, then "separation comes, faith is exalted, charity is lost, and finally shut out" (Arcana, n. 369). What Swedenborg is urging

finally, is not that charity take its place beside faith in the view of doctrine, but that it do so in the life. This insistence he includes as one of the principles of his theology (Intercourse of Soul and Body, n. 20e). Charity and faith are the two essentials in the Church, or in the corporate realization of the spiritual life (True Christian Religion, n. 38).

IV. The Development of Charity.

Very often Swedenborg is on the development of charity. We have already noted how he thinks of its developing in the company only of faith. But it may see development as a characteristic motive of the spiritual life in the religious history of the race; or in the individual experience, and in the latter case be secret or also emerge in the man's consciousness.

Its Original Historical Manifestation.—When one speaks of charity's first historical appearance, one must have in mind a number of circumstances. Of course, one is thinking in the terms of Swedenborg's interpretation of the race's religious history. In the race's first realization of the regenerate life, in a so-called most ancient period, the mutual love which parallelled what now we have in charity was instinctive further expression of love for the Lord. It was no such distinguishable motive as Christianity's regard for the neighbor. It was a way in which love to the Lord behaved. So we have Swedenborg saying that charity in the second epochal realization of the spiritual life was otherwise reached than in this first period (Arcana Cœlestia, n. 310(2)). The heart governed by love to the Lord inevitably felt love for other human beings. One went down, so to say, from love for the Lord to mutual love. But now with the ancient religious epoch, one began to mount by faith to mutual love (nn. 335, 337e). And this mutual love was the predominant and thus characteristic motive of the spiritual life of that period and type. To it the name charity was given. This ascription of a time of origin to charity is of novel interest in the Theological Works.

The reader of the "Arcana" is aware that Swedenborg thinks of the particular dictate on right and wrong which we call conscience as coming to characterize the spiritual life in

the same second ancient era. But if we note some of these statements, we shall find that charity and conscience have their rise, as such, together (nn. 371, 310 (2)). Charity is related to conscience as its "fundamental" (n. 1033). So in n. 1023 it is said that

> When man's will part had become wholly corrupt, the Lord miraculously separated the own of his intellectual part from that corrupt own of his will part, and in the own of his intellectual part he formed a new will, which is conscience, and into the conscience insinuated charity, and into the charity innocence, and so conjoined Himself to man.

Due to the contemporaneous emergence of charity and conscience in the religious consciousness of the race, one finds so many statements in the Theological Works in which charity and conscience are linked, as in the eulogy of charity which we quoted above from the "Diary" ("he who is in charity and in true conscience," "those in charity and conscience," Spiritual Diary, n. 4263). "Arcana Cœlestia," n. 393, recounting the rise of one, recounts the rise of the other.

Mutual love, then, as a motive which separates itself out in the consciousness, or charity, made its appearance with the realization of the life of heaven according to the spiritual type. Mutual love with the celestial had been so closely and inevitably attendant on love to the Lord, it could be said that those people "were introduced by charity into love of the Lord," but the spiritual are introduced by truths of faith into charity (n. 3122). Charity is now an affection of truth (n. 2088(3)). The good done under the prompting of charity is a good which the understanding makes out (nn. 2196(7), 436). There are excellent descriptions of the contrasts between the kingdom of the celestial, or of those in love to the Lord, and that of the spiritual or of those in charity to the neighbor, in "Arcana Cœlestia," n. 3969.

The Development of Charity in the Individual: Secret.—It is well to make a separate point of what is done secretly by the Divine Spirit in the human spirit towards the growth of a disinterested desire to live serviceably, or towards the development of charity; for the more frequently made statement is

that charity comes through truths of faith, and this latter road lies out in the man's consciousness, so that it can also be said that a man can introduce himself into charity. It would never do to take this as the whole story. Swedenborg's doctrine of "remains" enters inevitably into the story of the growth of charity, for the latter is at least one of the twin elements of the spiritual character, or the whole spiritual life may be intended by it, and there is no hope of either except through the implantation of "remains." We therefore have Swedenborg speaking, too, though not nearly so frequently, of the coming-to-be of charity by way of "remains": "all a man's charity comes by the remains in the internal man" (Arcana Cœlestia, n. 576(3)). No. 653 connects openness to truths of faith with the implanting of "seeds of charity." "Arcana Cœlestia," n. 1555 (2, 3), is unusually full in description of the whole process by which charity emerges in the religious consciousness of the adult. The process is picked up in infancy and childhood, when the readiness to be helpful is inculcated in instruction, but even more, in the individual's unawareness, through promptings to help aroused in him from time to time. Two further large stages are described, in adolescence's dawning grasp of life's meaning, and in the mature man's practice. Adolescence's experience in charity's development is touched on in n. 5342. These last numbers, so far as they are on the adolescent's experience and that of the adult man, are more germane to our next topic; but the secret inbreathing by unguessed means of the inclinations which later are consolidated into charity, while fullest in infancy, will not be absent from the later ages.

The Development of Charity in the Individual: Sought.—The spiritual life, realized after the celestial type, is largely an instinctive growth and steady unfolding of successive affections; but realized after the spiritual type, is by contrast a studied growth, and one that is achieved in avoidance of evil. We therefore expect to hear that we have a conscious part to play in the realization of charity. There is a sense in which it can be said that a man introduces himself into charity (True Christian Religion, nn. 71(2), 357, 340). We shall have more

illustrations of this later, as we find that charity is not exercised by any one without discernment of its due objects and without distinguishing among the more and less commanding obligations, or as one practices other insights. But in general there is a pronounced and informed effort to be made to become, as the teachings put it, an embodiment of charity, or a person devoted in any full sense to useful living. It is true that the fruit of one's own best effort, were that all, would be only what can be denominated "natural charity" (Arcana Cœlestia, nn. 845, 847e). The inner seeds of charity which are the remains mentioned above must spring into life in this effort, and of course, will; and one then comes to have spiritual charity, or charity informed with the spirit of helpfulness from the Lord Himself. The difference between natural and spiritual charity is pointed out in "True Christian Religion," n. 360.

One specific effort on the man's part is singled out in Swedenborg's discussion of how charity comes about. It is a first step to shun what is evil, and what therefore is not helpful but hurtful, and it is a second stage to attempt the positive good which offers. This phase of the human effort is made a conspicuous one in "Arcana," n. 5342, cited above. It becomes the line of discussion in the posthumous "Doctrine of Charity," when that little work considers the development of charity in the individual. See in that work especially nn. 1-41. In this work of avoiding evil, shunning, for instance, the prejudice, or the dislike which prevents real helpfulness or spoils it, one has as a method in the development of charity only the general procedure in the growth of the spiritual character, and is reminded again of the equivalence in the terminology of the Theological Works of "charity" and "the spiritual life."

One will often have come, as we have noted, upon the general idea that charity comes through truths of faith. This means, however, quite what we have just described. Truths of faith incite and guide both the avoidance of evil and the doing of good. These truths are to be distinguished from pieces of information or items of doctrine about the things of faith. They are appreciations of what the spiritual life implies; they

are insights into its nature; and they are such appreciations and insights entertained in the attitude of reliance on and desire for the realities of the spirit. Short of that they are not "truths of faith." Here again is illustration how charity and faith develop together. A supreme influence of these truths of faith is that they unmask the evils one shuns then, and disclose the ways of helpfulness into which the desire to help is released. Charity has this aversion to evil, and this intelligence in service. "Natural charity" means a charity unformed by truths from the Word (Apocalypse Explained, n. 232e). It is a native generous disposition, or it is a mood created by exhortation. But charity's true self is an informed as well as disinterested desire to live serviceably. Indeed, disinterestedness means that one is at pains to understand another's need, or another's powers, so as to inspire the one and supply the other. One is also at pains to take account of one's antagonisms, one's biases, one's unreasonablenesses, which prevent or spoil help so often. Charity comes with truths and with self-exploration (Apocalypse Explained, nn. 232e, 248(8)).

(To be continued)

WILLIAM F. WUNSCH.

CURRENT LITERATURE

THE "ADVERSARIA" IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

"An Introduction to the Word Explained" was published by Dr. Acton in 1927,* and in it he gave considerable information about Swedenborg's early exposition,† the first volume of which as translated by Mr. Acton is now before us.

The manuscript of the "Word Explained" was found among those which were presented by Swedenborg's heirs to the Royal Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. Dr. Immanuel Tafel of Tübingen, Germany, borrowed this manuscript, and published it in Latin (1840-1854) under the name *"Adversaria"* (Notes), which was a vague, indefinite title. Dr. Acton has adopted the title "The Word Explained," because this was found on the back of three of the manuscript volumes (supposed to have been so designated by Swedenborg himself), and the fourth volume, bound in parchment, had the written inscription on the back, "Esaias et Jeremias Explicati."

The title *"Adversaria"* given to this work by Dr. Im. Tafel is evidently inadequate, and not descriptive of the work; nor are we altogether satisfied with the present title. Swedenborg's works fall into several distinct categories: (1) those written and published before his theological studies; (2) those preparatory to the Theological Works, and not published by him, —such as the "Journal of Dreams," the "Spiritual Diary," and his first studies and explanations of the Word, as recorded in the *"Adversaria,"* or "Word Explained"; and (3) the Theo-

*See review of it in the NEW-CHURCH REVIEW, July, 1928, p. 370.

†*The Word of the Old Testament Explained;* A Posthumous Work by Emanuel Swedenborg. Translated by Alfred Acton, M.A., D.Th. Bryn Athyn, Pa.: Academy of the New Church. 1928. Vol. I, 595 pp., 8vo. $4.00.

logical Works proper. The last group may be divided into two classes: (1) those published by Swedenborg himself; and (2) those published posthumously. In publishing Swedenborg's Works these differentiations should be clearly indicated. The present publication does not do this.

"The Arcana Cœlestia," the first theological work published by Swedenborg, 1749-1756, is the exposition of the spiritual sense of Genesis and Exodus. "The Word Explained" was written before this, about 1745-1748, years when Swedenborg did an immense amount of work preliminary to the writing of his theological works subsequently published. During this period he had remarkable psychical or spiritual experiences, which he recorded in the "Journal of Dreams" and the "Spiritual Diary," and scattered through the "Word Explained." These embody an immense number of facts concerning the nature of spirit and the spiritual world. He read the Word many times. "The Word Explained" gives the literal sense and also the internal historical sense.

The first part of Volume I is a table of contents, which gives a brief summary of the whole work, but is mostly an index to the memorabilia recorded therein. The text contains an explanation of Genesis I to Genesis XXVIII inclusive, preceded by an introductory treatise on "The History of Creation as Given by Moses." While writing this introductory treatise, Swedenborg compared his exposition with his scientific theories as given in his scientific works, and especially in his "Worship and Love of God"; and he says of this comparison (n. 10): "When I had made a diligent comparison with these chapters, I was amazed at the agreement." Swedenborg here takes the first three chapters of Genesis as a literal description of the creation of the world and the first man, then of their being in the Garden of Eden, and the Fall. He at the same time sees that the story has a spiritual sense, and expounds it. In the Theological Works which he published, he clearly teaches that these early chapters of Genesis are not a literal history of the first man and the creation of the world.

In the early part of the main text Swedenborg speaks of the

Trinity in God as if it consisted of three Persons—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Dr. Acton, in the introductory volume mentioned above, discusses this matter, and refers to a relation in which Swedenborg records a discussion with angels concerning the Divine *Esse,* where it is said:

> The angels perceived in my thought the common idea of the Christian Church in regard to God concerning a Trinity of Persons in Unity, and their Unity in Trinity; and also concerning the birth of a Son of God from eternity. . . . [The angels said to him:] "Unless you remove the ideas of that thought, we will shut heaven to you and go away." [Swedenborg replied to them:] "Enter, I pray you, more deeply into my thought, and perhaps you will see concordance." And they did so, and saw that by three Persons I understood the three proceeding Divine Attributes, which are Creation, Redemption, and Regeneration, and that these are attributes of the one God. (See Apocalypse Revealed, n. 961, Brief Exposition, n. 119, and True Christian Religion, n. 26.)

Dr. Acton says that Swedenborg could not really have held "the idea of three Persons" in God. We also agree with him in this. We think that the incident related by Swedenborg could only have taken place in this preparatory period, during these preliminary studies and explanations of the Word. Here he several times uses the word Persons of the Trinity, for the expression was in his external memory from education. But soon it disappears from his writing, and never reappears in expressing his own thought.

As we proceed in the Work, Swedenborg brings forward more and more the idea of the spiritual sense. Creation is a type of the new creation, or regeneration. The tree of life is a type of the Son; the tree of the knowledge of good and evil is a type of Satan—and so also is the serpent. The flood, the salvation of Noah and his family in the ark, are also representative of spiritual things of the church. In this connection he says:

> The flood clearly discloses the fact that the old man perished, and a new man was raised up. It also clearly involves that the former man, who had become exterior, was entirely extirpated, and the latter, who was to become interior, was born in his stead. To this end, and as a symbol thereof, baptism was instituted by the Messiah. (N. 115.)

When we come to the story of Abraham and of the Israelites,

Swedenborg, although recognizing it as historical, continually explains it as symbolic of the spiritual story of the church. Of the journeys of Abraham in the land of Canaan, in Egypt, and his return, he says:

> [They] are nothing but types continually following each other to the last time; it is the Messiah alone and His kingdom that are the effigies. (N. 171.)

Throughout this first volume he continually directs the thought to the fact that within all the particulars of the literal sense there is a spiritual sense. Although he devotes large space to the meaning of the literal sense, he continually expounds the spiritual content as applicable to the regeneration of man, to the development of the church, and to the glorification of the Messiah.

In the beginning of this volume and to the twenty-third chapter, Swedenborg utilizes two Latin translations of the Word; namely, that of Castellio, and that of Sebastian Schmidius. The former was first published in 1551, and was a rather free translation. That by Schmidius was first published in 1696, the year of his death. This is a very close translation of the Hebrew. Swedenborg uses this translation alone after the twenty-third chapter of Genesis. Swedenborg himself was studying the Hebrew during these years; and when he began the "Arcana," he made his own translation, a very accurate one, into Latin; but in quoting proof passages he frequently used the text of Schmidius.

"The Word Explained," especially in the later volumes, has many descriptions and explanations of psychical phenomena, which are used in explaining the nature of similar experiences recorded in the Word. Visions, voices heard, sensations of touch, are explained as taking place in the spirit of man, without any contact from the external world. Visions were seen by the spirit, not by the body. Voices were heard by an interior way, not through the external ear. Those standing near would not see or hear, and therefore would not be aware of these psychic effects.

As a whole "The Word Explained" (the translation of which

will probably run to six volumes, and take several years) has a valuable content of very useful and interesting material: comments on the literal sense of the Word; the various degrees of the internal sense; much material relating to the history of the Jews, their nature and disposition; the application of the literal sense to the Jews, their wars, their worship; the relation of the spiritual sense of the Word to the literal sense; and the nature of the Word itself. Of this it is said: "In the single words and jots there lie hidden the deepest arcana" (n. 289, 290). The names of persons and places are types of spiritual things which are frequently explained. In their inmost sense they relate to the Lord, who is generally called "Messiah."

Swedenborg explains the nature of revelation: that it is given by a superior way from the Lord through heaven to the interior faculties of man, coming to his interior senses, not through ordinary channels of information. In other words, it is by psychic experiences rather than by external intellectual methods that revelation is given. The Word itself has several senses or degrees one within another. There is, first, the external historical or literal sense; second, the interior or internal historical sense; third, the more interior or more universal sense which treats of the church truly Christian; and fourth, the inmost or most universal or Divine sense, which treats of the Messiah Himself (n. 505). Creation, he declares, is also in similar degrees to the Word, in both of which God is inmostly as the soul is in the body. He also makes a comparison of the kingdom of God with the human body (n. 523).

We should not class the *"Adversaria"* or "Word Explained" with the Theological Works published by Swedenborg. Yet it and the "Spiritual Diary" and "The Journal of Dreams" hold important places as preparatory to the Theological Works. They are like the quarry out of which the stones of a temple are taken, and like the materials gathered together for the building. We see here the first results of his study of the Word, and of the spiritual experiences through which he passed in his introduction into the spiritual world. The Theological Works are the temple itself.

JOHN WHITEHEAD.

GROPINGS OF THE RACE-MIND.

Assuming that each author is the mouthpiece of a definitely traceable group of people who like to read him, who follow his methods of reasoning in their mental work, and whose opinions he palpably expresses, the fact evolves into consciousness that almost all books may be called "Gropings of the Race-mind" along certain lines. As I turn to the twenty-five or thirty books at my elbow, I can readily sort out the direction and tendency of these lines.

It is evident that Einstein has stirred the minds of a number of thinkers who have not felt quite satisfied to think of his work as a negative function. Most of us have taken a bit of paper, cut a triangle out of the middle of it, and said, "Euclid talks about the triangle cut from the paper, and Einstein of the space or hole in the paper from which it was cut"; and we have let it go at that, satisfied to think of Euclidian geometry as positive and Einstein as negative. But evidently that has not satisfied every one; hence J. W. N. Sullivan, in his "Gallio, or the Tyranny of Science" (E. P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1927, $1.00), makes serious efforts and successful efforts to explain and illustrate what Einstein means. It is a short essay, and can be read in a very short time. But on the other hand Lee Wilson Dodd, in "The Golden Complex" (The John Day Company, N. Y., 1927, $1.75), treats the matter humorously; and while he does so, he manages to sprinkle in considerable information about celebrated people, and an imaginary "inferiority complex" wherewith they were gifted at birth, hence throwing quite a little light on the two aspects of life, heredity and environment, wherewith science has been playing lawn tennis for some little time.

One hears the question: "But of what use are such books to New-Church people?" It is permissible to think of these various efforts as being in the direction of tracing the higher nature forces. Psychologically they arrive usually after a great disturbance, like the World War, and after a stream of books on the "Other World and Life There" has poured from the press. I remember quite distinctly talking about and reviewing

thirty-six such books out of about four hundred titles at the time, until the interest in them died out. Then comes this wave of books that concerns itself with the apparently abstract philosophical tenets, concerning space, time, and substance (or, if you prefer, "condition"). And all this is due to the fact that the Lord in His Second Coming is constructing not only a new physical world, but also a new mental world, of which these two books and others like them are cross sections.

Another turn the minds of writers take is that of group study,—or rather, surveys of what groups of people are evidently thinking about more or less seriously.

The first of these groups concerns itself with the changes incident to the reconstruction of the world; or rather, the creation of an entirely new world in that layer of it which may be properly designated the middle layer. While there are endless books concerning themselves with the mechanism of the world of outer things,—of business, of industries, of inventions, of the machinery of government,—there are also distinct lines of books that concern themselves with the next higher layer, namely, the world of people and their relationships.

Among these there is one that concerns itself with Labor, and does so quite naturally. James Peter Warbasse, who evidently knows whereof he writes, tells an absorbingly interesting story about "Cooperative Democracy" (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, $3.00). He tells remarkable stories of cooperative concerns in many countries, especially Britain, which have proven enormously profitable to those who shared in the work, and contributed their money toward the carrying forward of the enterprises involved. The book was written a little before the present unemployment situation in Great Britain, and therefore leaves the question as to that unemployment unanswered. But another book answers it: "International Aspects of Unemployment," by Watson Kirkconnell, Professor in the University of Manitoba, who may be considered as a fair exponent of any problem in the mother country (Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1923, $2.25). The final chapter on "Cerebral Decay," while quite gloomy and

morbid, is especially direct and useful as a matter of world penitence,—as useful as was our Dr. Ellis's "Degeneration of Puritan Stock" in his day. Reading such books may not be a pleasure; but it may also fall into the line of duty, especially of those to whom Providence has entrusted leadership among men. In this class of "self-expression" one can embody G. Bernard Shaw's last will and testament, which he dedicates to the women of America under the rather ponderous title: "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism" (Brentano, New York, $3.00), and in which he conceals under the perfectly natural persiflage of a man who "likes to hear himself talk" (and has a right to this liking) a mass of good sense and kindly satire which brings with it a bit of "briny breeze from the Sea of Life" that is as healthy for the mind as the fog on the New England coast is for the lungs. It is a capital book, with here and there an annoyance to make more keen the pleasure of reading. These and others concern themselves with the reconstruction of that layer of the "Maximus Homo" on earth covered by the human equation; and it is their reference to this "Maximus Homo" that gives them their interest to the New-Church reader.

Two other books along this line are "The Challenge of Youth" by Alfred E. Stearns (W. A. Wilde Company, Boston, 1923, $1.50) and "The Myth of the Individual" by Chas. W. Wood (John Day Co., New York, 1927, $2.50). The former tries to understand that part of the creation of a new world which concerns itself with one specific group of the Race-mind, and does so from the background of large teaching experience in Phillips-Andover Academy; while the second gives rather startling emphasis to the "Maximus Homo" idea in denying the individual any rights at all unless derived (and derivable) from his relation to the greater unit, the group. Another book which rests on this basis is "The Mind Behind the Universe," by Theodore A. Miller (Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, 1928, $1.50), in which the author sets himself the thesis as to what the controlling force or forces may be that regulate the affairs of men, and more especially of the church. Since

this falls distinctly and automatically into the field of "The Divine Providence," this book can be profitably read in connection with the much talked of title, "The Bridge of San Luis Rey," by Thornton Wilder (Albert and Charles Boni, New York, 1927, $2.50). Mr. Wilder tries to revamp Calvinism into modern shape under the hood of a mediæval monk, and makes a reasonable success of so difficult a task. One can see a Presbyterian background in Wilder, and a Methodist background in Miller. For the sake of comparison, the "Bridge" would lend itself for distribution in connection with Swedenborg's "Divine Providence."

That religion, or the church, should come in for part of the effort to re-understand things is inevitable; and from the welter one may pick two such books as Kirsopp Lake's "The Religion of Yesterday and Tomorrow" (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1925, $2.00) and the pseudonymous publication, "Religions of the Past and the Religion of the Future" (Adam and Charles Black, London, 3/6), and get an exquisitely fine sense of the readjustment of things within a period of twenty years; for "Senex," the author of the latter, looks upon things with the eyes of disillusioned age, while youth flashes strong through Kirsopp Lake's book.

And if the church must needs be touched, surely the Bible must also needs come in for its share. Again choosing two titles from a welter of books—"The Modern Use of the Bible" by Harry Emerson Fosdick (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1924, $1.60), and "The One Book" by Warwick James Price (The John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia, 1928, $2.50),—in the former that remarkable author shows that the Bible can solve the problems of today as well and as thoroughly as it solved the problems of yesterday; while in the latter the author makes a strong plea for the authenticity of Sacred Writ independent of any denominational bias. Fosdick's book comes from the pen of a man in whom several denominations of Christians are intensely interested at one and the same time; while the other comes from the pen of a Christian Scientist, though one does not realize that the book was written by a Christian Scientist unless he knows about the author.

Choice of further material handling individual relationships is difficult, if not impossible. I want merely to mention Warwick Deeping's "Doomsday" (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1927, $2.50), a fulfilment of the promise of his earlier work, "Sorrell and Son," which took everybody by storm,—one needs only read a few pages to realize he is the modern Anthony Trollope, with the same charm and an almost Dickensian tang; and "Children of Divorce," by Owen Johnson (Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1927, $2.00), in which a difficult subject is handled with tact and yet with a cheering frankness, which one naturally expects from such a writer.

There is really no end to the list of books that might be appropriately discussed from the viewpoint of the "Second Advent" as known to the students of Swedenborg.

ADOLPH ROEDER.

"CHRIST AT THE ROUND TABLE."*

"Christ at the Round Table," like "The Christ of the Indian Road" by the same author, has its setting in India. The "Round Table" conferences had their beginning in an invitation of a Hindu who asked if he might have a tea party at his home, and invite the leading men of the city (where Jones was preparing to hold public meetings), so that Dr. Jones could talk to them in a more intimate and personal way than was possible at the public meetings. The results of this intimacy, the mutual frankness regarding the innermost deeps of religious needs and findings with those present, led to the adoption of Round Table means of getting close to the souls of the educated classes of India. Under the spirit of mutual respect they sit in a circle; and, one by one, whether religion for him centers in Rama, or Krishna, or Buddha, or the Vedanta, or the Koran, each voices it, and tells what it has done and does for him personally. The effort is to get quite away from theorizing or preaching, and come directly to experience. And the pages of this book record the testimonies of these meetings—revealing the heart of India and searching the heart that calls itself Christian, in many striking and soul-stirring exchanges.

* *Christ at the Round Table.* By E. STANLEY JONES. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1928. 328 pp., 12mo. $1.50.

Woven in with these records are discussions of Christian doctrines and problems which place the author in the rank of one of the illumined minds of this time. Comparisons and contrasts of the oriental religions with that of the Lord Jesus Christ, are pointed and clarifying. The turning of the best Hindu minds to the serious quest of what there may prove to be for them in the Lord, is one of the most heartening things of modern days. Their quest is to "find God"; and in the Round Tables scarce one has claimed to "have found"; while often they do observe, "You Christians seem to have found." The next question often is, "How can I find?"

It may be recalled that the joint report of our missionary natives in Burma, Messrs. A. Boo and Nai Di, as published on page 77 of our 1927 Journal of the Convention, refers to a series of lectures in Mulmein given by E. Stanley Jones as greatly helping them in their missionary work, "as we find every one of his lectures based on the teachings of the New Jerusalem." The New-Church reader of his books will find many things to rejoice his heart in this line, especially in relation to the doctrines of Life, and of the Lord. Let these quotations suggest lines that dominate his work:

Life lived in all its relationships according to Jesus, is the realization of the kingdom of God. It is the final spiritual and social order. . . . All other programs for human living . . . are misfits. All endeavors to live in any other way are an attempt to live against life. They break themselves upon this final order. They carry within themselves the seeds of their own dissolution.

"I am quite sure I cannot believe in any kind of a God other than a Christlike one." And this out of the lips of a Hindu at the Round Table: "You do not lower your ideas of God when you think of him as Christlike." "I find that a Christlike God stands the strain"!

God was lost. But Jesus saves God to us. He did not prove God or argue about him—he brought God. And how beautiful God seems when I see Him in the face of Jesus!

The gospel of Jesus is not the Gospel of a Demand, but the Gospel of an Offer. Christ offers life to men. . . . Just here is the essential difference between the other systems and the gospel of Christ. The one struggles upward in order that it may issue in self-salvation; the other accepts an offer, and it issues in self-sacrifice.

We know that Jesus is a Mediator only in the sense that he mediates God to us—when we take hold of him we take hold of the very self of

God. He is not someone standing between us and God—he is God become available. He is not the verandah of the Temple of Reality which we pass by on the way to the inner Shrine—he is the heart of the Shrine.

We are not here attempting an exhaustive review or analysis of this book. There are many subjects and many points touched by our author, and shot through with deep insight, stirring the soul to re-examination of itself and of collective "Christianity," which have been of much new inspiration to us, but which we leave for the reader to gather himself from the pages of the book. We wish that every professing Christian would read the volume through; and we believe there are within it many things worth the careful pondering of every New-Churchman. Surely by such men the way is being prepared for the acceptance of the work the New Church is commissioned to carry out in the world; and we believe the reading of this book will greatly help us to answer whether or not we are spiritually prepared for the opportunity that is looming upon the horizon. EVERETT K. BRAY.

COMPANIONATE MARRIAGE.*

"Is companionate marriage the final solution?" is the question raised by this book, and answered in the negative. It is an earnest affirmation of the intrinsic value of permanent marriage and of monogamy. Judge Ben B. Lindsey, whose name has been prominently associated with the term "companionate marriage," although he did not originate it, would quite agree to all this, as his writings plainly show. He fully approves of permanent marriage and of monogamy, and proposes "companionate marriage" only as a means to this end in a disorderly and pitiable condition of society. Still, it is an excellent and much needed thing to have Dr. Neumann's fine presentation of the ethics of the subject brought to mind at this time and in this connection. He presents the ethical ideal of the relation of the sexes which Judge Lindsey seemingly neglects. Indeed, Judge Lindsey's publications leave the reader with the idea that there

* *Modern Youth and Marriage.* By HENRY NEUMANN, PH.D., Leader of the Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1927. 146 pp., 12mo. $1.50.

is little above the physical gratifications of marriage that is important. The nobility of an unselfish, self-sacrificing love, devoted to united service to the community, to humanity, and to the Lord, is lost sight of. Dr. Neumann's writing restores this loss in the ethical field; but it goes no farther. It fails to present marriage as a Divine and heavenly institution for the salvation and eternal welfare of the human race. Still, we are grateful for the purifying breath of reasonable and stimulating thought which his book brings in this time of need. For as Dr. Neumann truly says:

> He [Judge Lindsey] forgets that the plea for looser unions touches a very sensitive nerve in every healthy-minded community; for such pleading is trying to build up a so-called new ethics out of people's weakness. It offends because it looks ultimately in the direction of sanctioning indulgence rather than promoting control.

Dr. Neumann calls attention to the harm done to the soul, especially to that of the woman involved, in departure from the marriage of one man with one woman. We read the following:

> Even where no children are born, a new situation is established by the mating. There are, for instance, effects upon the woman which the literature of rebellion quite overlooks. A decent woman does not desire the mating in and of itself. Unlike the harlot, she wants to be wooed honestly by one who loves her. She wants the mating to be an incident to loving and being loved. The caresses are precious to her because they are the marks of affection. She wishes to be something other than the mere instrument of a man's pleasure. The consequence of the mating is that she is likely to love the man still more. . . .
>
> Here is where the new situation is created—in the attachment which the woman feels for the man, and which she is apt to feel more thoroughly than he does. Once these chords of personality in her have been played upon, she cannot go, without a certain loss of self-respect, to the arms of another man. . . .
>
> Nor is the root consideration merely the suffering of the woman. There is a kind of reverence for the human soul whereby the easy passing to new intimacies is forbidden. Fine grained natures neither permit nor inflict such cheapening of the self.

In Dr. Neumann's volume there are interesting chapters on "The Revolt" which has been occasioned by the many failures in marriage made by the older generation, and by popular books

and plays that present "advanced" ideas before great multitudes largely of the younger generation; on "Why Monogamy?" urging responsibility and duty to society and humanity; on "Romantic Illusions," pointing to the awakening that must come from dreams, and from false ideas of popular literature, to the stearn realities of experience; on "What Naturalism Overlooks," namely, the essential difference between animal instinct and human self-direction, or control; on "A Plea for Privacy," beginning by calling attention to how prevalent "playing up sex" has become, so that it appears to be the most important thing in life, for which the excuse of "frankness" is overdone; on "Preparations" for better conditions, which are discussed informingly.

We well may wish that all young people, and older ones too, whose minds are in confusion on the whole subject of sex and marriage, and who consequently are in serious peril, might read this sensible book. H. CLINTON HAY.

"THE CONFESSIONS OF A PUZZLED PARSON."

Bishop Charles Fiske has just published a volume entitled "The Confessions of a Puzzled Parson." * The title misleads the reader. The "confessions" are declarations. The "puzzled parson" is a bishop with convictions. He says himself, "I am not as puzzled or penitent as I describe myself."

The opening chapter and the one following are no less misleading if read alone, without the more serious and constructive thought of the later chapters. They are critical, humorous, sarcastic. Exaggeration suggests triviality.

But the writer is serious. He has convictions. And in the later chapters, he makes constructive criticisms—not novel, to be sure, but worthy of repetition. "The essays are all pleas for reality in religion, for honest inquiry into the problems, ethical or social, economic or political, with which religion may be concerned. . . . They express root convictions."

"A Penitent and Puzzled Parson," the first chapter, pleads

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*_The Confessions of a Puzzled Parson,_ and other pleas for reality. By BISHOP CHARLES FISKE. N. Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1928. 273 pp., 12mo. $2.00.

for less "over-organization of paid welfare work," less "paid propaganda," fewer conventions that are nothing more than "resolutionary," and more emphasis on preaching the gospel. "I voice a prayer for the church, that it may escape the perils of the professional uplift."

"Bringing in the Millenium" would be accomplished, not by the aid of circulars and appeals, but by modest and unobtrusive worship and service of God. The author enters "a protest against the prevalent tendency to resolve religion into nothing other than terms of social activity, and trust to successive schemes of legislation for the reformation of society and the salvation of the human race."

"Saving Souls Through Church Suppers" considers the use that should be served by the parish house of the present and the future. "There will be fewer 'feeds' for the body, and more 'food' for the soul. The call to teach and teach and teach again, to think and think hard, will be clearly sounded, whatever other calls may be heard."

The earlier chapters of the book, from which examples have been selected, have for their aim the calling of the Christian churches of America back to their real task, "the reforming and renewing of society by the winsomeness and attractiveness of the life and teaching of Jesus Christ."

The shortcomings of the clergy are reviewed in a chapter that appeared originally as an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* (June, 1928): "A Bishop Looks at the Church." Why are they as they are, the clergy; especially so restless? His answer is, the laity.

Perhaps the most useful, as well as the most interesting and informing, chapters of the book are the last three. "Marriage: Temporary or Permanent?" is for Bishop Fiske, of course, permanent. "The wonderful thing, after all, is not that some marriages turn out badly, but that, men and women being what they are, so many turn out well." Much in this chapter and the next remind one of Swedenborg.

The author says, in "Companionate Marriage": "My firm conviction is that the only cure [for present sex immorality] is education in what Christian marriage really is, and the de-

termination to set our faces against all that tends to break the sacredness of the tie; above all, education such as will show that sex wastefulness will mean the crushing of the moral life." "Not new statutes, but a new spirit; not legislation, but teaching."

The home of the past, based upon "absolute subordination" and "self-denial," he contrasts with the new (in "The New Home and the Woman"), where "free companionship" will be substituted for subordination and self-control, and "self-development for self-denial." His closing word is this: "Unless there is set up in the hearts of the children a reverence for holy things—and unless that reverence arises out of a recognition that these things are really held sacred by the parents—the home will go forever, and with the home the family, and with the family civilization, and with civilization woman herself."

The book as a whole fails to make a single, clear-cut impression upon the reader. The chapters in themselves are essays. Much of their material appeared originally in current magazines. Brought together now in book form, the sequence of idea from chapter to chapter is interrupted, the chapters are disjointed units; though a common plea for "reality in religion"—urged in a variety of subjects—does recur, now and again, throughout the book.

The book says many things that need saying now, and constantly need re-saying. It says many things well.

HORACE W. BRIGGS.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF ISRAEL.*

In this book we have another addition to the steady stream of well arranged books for study by young people. It is equipped with questions at the end of each chapter, suggestions for discussion and "projects" which take the pupil beyond the material of the book itself. Not all are well chosen, but that need not disturb the teacher, for he must select in any case. It is an excellent text, but lacks the spark which would make it an inspiring book.

* *The Achievement of Israel.* By HERBERT R. PURINTON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1927. 218 pp., 16mo. $1.25.

The title, "The Achievement of Israel," suggests both the subject matter and the method of treatment. It is an attempt to demonstrate that the people of Israel have made an important contribution to civilization, especially in the field of religion, and to set forth the details of that contribution. The material is valuable; but to speak of it as the "achievement of Israel" is at best only a half truth. The lessons of the Old Testament are more than the discoveries of the Hebrews; they are also the self revelation of God. That could never be discovered from the book; and for that reason all of its excellencies go for naught. FREDERIC R. CROWNFIELD.

A NEW VOLUME ON INSPIRATION.

During the past summer a small volume on the subject of the inspiration of the Bible, dealing with "history, theories, and facts," has been issued by the American Tract Society.* The author's name does not appear in the pages of "Who's Who in America"; but the publishers inform us (in note on jacket):

> William Albert Ericson is a graduate of Augustana Theological Seminary [a Lutheran institution of Rock Island, Ill.]. For years he has been an important contributor to pastoral, educational and theological work. He has done a most important work in preparing this masterly volume. Its scholarly treatment and logical conclusions make it an important contribution to great doctrines.

The author's position on the subject manifests a foregone conclusion. It is strictly "orthodox," and is in evidence throughout, instead of being led up to as the logical result of his investigation. In that respect at least the treatment lacks an element usually associated with the idea of "scholarly."

The volume is divided into four parts, dealing respectively with the History of the Doctrine of Inspiration (giving concisely the ideas of many individuals, including Swedenborg, who is dismissed with the remark that he is said to have "an idea regarding the origin and nature of the Word of God that

* *Inspiration,—History, Theories, and Facts.* By WILLIAM ALBERT ERICSON. New York: American Tract Society. 1928. 132 pp., 12mo. $1.50.

is pretty much his own"); Theories of Inspiration (classified under six heads as "Natural, Universal, Partial, Degrees (Illumination), Mechanical, Plenary," the last of which is but lightly touched upon, in view of its introducing the author's own modification of that theory under the name "Theopneustos Theory," which is set forth and amplified in the third part of the book); Facts of Inspiration; and finally Alleged Discrepancies Examined (containing a number of interesting observations on seeming inconsistencies in the Bible, including the genealogies of Jesus Christ).

The author manifests practically no originality in his treatment of the subject of inspiration. The bulk of the book is quotation, either direct or indirect. The modern scholarship that would reduce the Scriptures to merely human literature, however, receives scant consideration; for

> The Christian accepts the Bible as the mind and word of God, given by His Holy Spirit, through the instrumentality of holy men; for it IS the Word of God. (P. 92.)

The question of the canon of Scripture is not considered, but is assumed as settled; and the possibility of other spiritual influx than that of the Holy Spirit into the minds of men is alluded to only in a way to leave the Biblical scribes out of the consideration. That the Bible in its usual form is rightly called "The Word of God" is assumed throughout the treatment; and no rational evidence for that assumption is given. In our judgment there is great need at the present time of some kind of book for the general reader demonstrating, by suitable use of correspondences, that One Mind manifests itself within all those parts of the Bible that are really the Word of the Lord.

> Lest, therefore, man should be in doubt whether the Word is such, its internal sense has been revealed to me by the Lord, which in its essence is spiritual, and is within the external sense which is natural, as the soul is in the body. That sense is the spirit which gives life to the letter; it can therefore bear witness to the Divinity and sanctity of the Word, and can convince even the natural man, if he is willing to be convinced. (Swedenborg's Doctrine of the Sacred Scripture, n. 4.)

B. A. WHITTEMORE.

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THE ROTCH TRUST FUND

Mrs. Lydia S. Rotch died in Boston, July 20, 1863, at the age of 80 years. She left $15,000 to be administered by three trustees for the benefit of the Convention. The activity of this Fund, administered by its successive three trustees, has been primarily that of the publication of Swedenborg's Theological Writings, commentaries compiled therefrom, and other works, as follows:

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Brisbane, Queensland, 345 Ann St., near Wharf St.

INDIA.

Bombay, Swedenborg Society of India, 7 Topiwala's Bldgs., Sandhurst Road, Girgaum, Bombay.

SWITZERLAND.

Lausanne, Agence des Publications de la Nouvelle Eglise, 1 Avenue de France.

The Fund assists, from time to time, in other New-Church uses to the extent that it has available funds; for example, the Neighborhood House at Lynn, Mass., to the support of which it regularly contributes. It has also coöperated in the publication of some of Swedenborg's scientific works, and of the photofacsimile reproductions of Swedenborg's theological manuscripts.

The original sum is intact, and the income only is used. This is, of course, entirely inadequate to help all the uses which come before the Rotch Trustees for contributions, including many for which other New-Church funds are not available because of their limitations. It is estimated that since the death of Mrs. Rotch, the trustees have spent over $65,000.00 in various church uses.

Will friends of the New Church continually bear in mind the importance of increasing the Rotch Trust Fund, whether by "giving while living" or by will?

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